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Chapter I.

What Is "The Social Function" Of A Library?

Every historical period has its own mentality, and this mentality tends to stress certain ideas more than others. Thus, it becomes possible to characterize cultural periods by the philosophy or ideology which they possess. From the very start, however, it is essential to bear in mind that those dominant ideas do not reflect the entire culture of a given period; nor is it infrequent that a number of cultures, and consequently philosophies, compete with one another so that the weight of a given idea varies within a given culture and even more in the various culture-patterns which occur at a given time.

While in the past, Western civilization tended to consider its own culture as the one "par excellence," we have learned the relative value of a number of culture-patterns so that it has become much more difficult to ascertain the actual value of a certain idea which does not play a dominant role in one culture.

In this way, we have become more aware of the inter-relatedness of all human affairs, and it is perhaps this trend which has given such great weight to the term "social."

The word "social" is derived from the Latin "socius" which means companion, ally, friend, follower, etc. It has acquired numerous meanings in modern usage, all of which pertain to "belonging to" or "playing a role in" groups.

It acquired its dominant position in our thought-patterns in the late nineteenth and twentieth century

when social policy, social economics, socialism, social work, social legislation, social psychology, sociology, social insurance, social psychiatry, etc. became household words, better known than terms like "social contract" which played a considerable role in the eighteenth century.

If a certain term gains so tremendously in value and usage, there must be some underlying psychological reason or motive for this change. It seems most logical to look for this motive in the shift from individualism towards collectivism which occurred in Western civilisation during that period.

This change had so many facets and its influence penetrated so deep and ranged so far, that, for our present purpose, we can deal with a few of its aspects only.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, rationalism had been the dominant philosophy of Western society, and it was rationalism that made the individual, endowed with reason, the capital arbiter of all things.

It is also included the idea that the universe ran according to a rational pattern and that Man, through his faculty of Reason, could gain knowledge of these processes. The tremendous success of the exact sciences gave strong impetus to these ideas, and when the social disciplines began to gain in influence, they were eager to abandon their metaphysical terminology and to imitate the exact sciences. Consequently, the first social science which reflected and influenced the actual changes in the society of the New Era, viz. political economy or economics, placed the rational individual in the center of its observations.

It developed, in its classical period, a system that appealed to the mind of the times because it was based upon its favored ideas, and applied those in an attractive and seemingly logical way to the processes of the expanding economies.

The roots of rationalism and individualism - the two are indissolubly intertwined - reached very deep: Change and progress require a certain realm of freedom of the individual; because a changing life brings new problems which cannot be fitted into existing pattern which represents the accumulated experience of the past. Change and progress themselves are concomitants of social growth, and why society grows is a speculative question. Religion and philosophy may have an answer to this question but science has none, although it studies the attributes of growth and the interrelatedness of the phenomena which are indicative of it.

In retrospect, life and its philosophies acquire a certain necessity. When the process of growth actually unfolds itself, the individual often believes that his ideas are the cause of change while, in reality, they may be much more the expression of it. It is, at any rate, the task of social science to record change and to analyse it rather than to evaluate it.

Thus, it seems quite clear that, after a period of strong growth, which in human society is not an evenly distributed process, a need sets in for coordination and consolidation.

The world of rationalism and individualism, although it set free tremendous amount of human energy, did not lead to the expected harmonious society, and it gradually became clear that Man was not the rational mechanism that he was deemed to be. "Economic Man" who was perhaps the most salient example of this mentality had become a lonesome creature who was either too rich or too poor, too strong or too weak, too energetic or too disorganised, too legally-minded or too unaware of his contractual status, etc. He had lost his human attributes, most strongly in that he no longer felt a human among other humans.

It was at this moment that the idea of "Social Man" was resuscitated by a movement which ran through numerous forms such as romanticism, utopian socialism, Christian reform-movements, the historical schools of

jurisprudence and economics, sociology, social relief, pacifism, etc., etc. They all emerged from the one overwhelming need: to curb the excesses of individualism and to view Man in his social role, viz. in his relation to his fellow-beings. Man was again becoming his brother's keeper because his own psychological structure had driven him to the realisation that happiness is not an individual good, to be measured in terms of success and progress or money, but an emotion which blossoms to greater fruition if it encompasses a certain regard for the well-being of others.

Again, this is an observation in retrospect which does not lead to any value-judgment about one attitude or another, but which makes us marvel at the complexity of human nature which, out of itself, seems to generate what is most needed.

It was this movement, - which we can trace through Western thought and the problems of its society - that placed the word "social" into the foreground. Although even Aristotle had remarked that Man is a political animal, meaning that the "polis," the community or society, was uppermost in his mind, this ancient truth gained new value after a period of excessive rationalism and individualism.

The alternation of more individualistic and more collectivistic periods is perhaps a general historical phenomenon. But this observation must be made with certain reservations because it is a difference in degree rather than in kind.

Even in periods in which the social factor or the need for integration is stressed, social groups show a strong urge to expand and to lead a life of their own; their relation to other groups is regulated more by the reaching of a certain equilibrium than by any deliberate action. The difference is that in integrative periods, the need for cooperation is stressed in the system of social values, while less integrative period place a stronger stress on concepts like competition, power, legal status, rights of the individual, etc.

In both cases it is ultimately the compromise between opposing forces which might be the basic regulatory factor in society, but mental attitudes towards this process differ.

In integrative periods an attempt is made to see a thing or a process in relation to the whole to which it belongs and to determine its function in relation to this whole. Therefore, it is not surprising that a period which places such faith in the term "social" also shows a great affinity for terms like "function" or "functional" which not only express interrelatedness but attempt to determine more specific relationships of the different parts to one another.

The expression "social function" has such a familiar ring that we are no longer aware that its use implies such a significant change in group mentality. It conveys, however, that we are interested in the role of a given phenomenon in relation to the social group on which it has a bearing. Very often, when the term is used, we are not very explicit about the social group which we have in mind. If we speak about the social function of a certain industry, it is obvious that we speak about something that involves wider implications than its direct economic significance. But whether we are concerned about those implications in regard to the social group whom they affect directly or to a given nation or region or to mankind as a whole is often left to conjecture. It must be observed, however, that while the thinking of the majority of our contemporaries is in national terms rather than in general ones, national ideologies often tend to have a general flavor.

It is the merit of sociology that it aims for a more concrete and definite use of general terms, and, consequently, if we speak about "social function," it is essential that we should specify the group in relation to which we are trying to determine the function. If we want to deal with the social function of the library, therefore, it is necessary first clearly to identify the problems and aspects involved.

Since, philosophically speaking, everything in the universe affects everything else, some limitations are essential. The most important limitation is involuntary, viz. the limitation of our knowledge.

In the first place, everything in our society can be seen under the aspect of the producer, the consumer and the general public. In this case, the authors and publishers are producers, the librarians more like distributors, the readers consumers, while the outside world constitutes the general public insofar as it is indirectly affected by the integrated activities of the first three groups. The most essential of these relationships are those among the writer, publisher, librarian and reader.

They involve a host of problems. It is not certain whether the question of the chicken and the egg need be raised since it is nowadays generally acknowledged that a need precedes activity. Consequently, it is logical that we should want to investigate first of all the need for reading which is the reason *sine qua non* of writer, publisher, librarian and reader. Perhaps reading should be analyzed first as a specific form of communication which has preceding stages as its prerequisite.

Thus, our approach to an analysis of the social function of the library could be in terms of Man's need-structure although it is doubtful whether this need-structure can be determined with any satisfactory degree of objectivity.

Secondly, in addition to a more or less objective determination of the function of the Library, we have to take into account under what ideological perspectives it is seen in various cultures and in different cultural stages. In other words, it is not only the function itself which changes but also its appreciation under various culture-patterns.

One aspect is reassuring: Although cultures have varied in their appreciation of the written word, there

has been none which has claimed to be able to exist without it. On the other hand, few cultures assert that it is necessary to preserve all that is written so that the scale of evaluation runs from low to high, but not from zero to general. It might be our Paper Age, however, which will cause the production of a Utopia in which the written word will be absent.

It is clear that the function of the Library can be seen under the aspects of the various social institutions which make up our society. The Library can be seen from the religious or ethical viewpoint, in its legal aspects, as an economic institution, as a social factor, etc. while these aspects can be re-stated in regard to the various types of library as: general, public and special libraries.

However, in order to make the story coherent, simple and orderly, the following approach might be the most rewarding one.

We shall first ask ourselves why people communicate with one another, secondly why writing and reading have emerged as a specific form of communication, and, thirdly, why it has proved necessary to build up collections of written materials. Next, the inter-relationships of the social actors who appear on the stage for this performance deserve a scrutiny as they together determine the actual weight of this group in the general society. It is obvious that a quantitative investigation is also essential as, for instance, the percentage of people in a given social group who can read and who do read is of crucial importance. Then comes the question what people read out of the total of available material and what motivation there is behind their choice, and it would be hardly possible to deal with the social function of the library and reading without investigating how reading influences the reader's mind. It cannot even be taken for granted that all visitors of libraries are readers! Also, how these various aspects appear under different ideologies and what have famous thinkers, philosophers or other astute persons had to say about it.

Out of the numerous functional aspects under which the library can be considered, a choice will have to be made. As modern society devotes the greatest part of its energy to economic activities, it is obvious that the library must be dealt with as an economic institution. This involves not only its own economic processes but also the general influence which it exercises on the economy through its cultural and intellectual function.

The social function of the library, this being the widest aspect under which it will be treated, raises such problems as the role of the library under various culture-systems. In regard to the present, it might be useful to make a distinction between highly developed and less developed areas as a specific role has been allotted to the library in the transitional stage in which many countries find themselves.

Almost automatically, this leads to the relation between knowledge and the printed word, and it might turn out that this relationship is far more intriguing and controversial than is generally assumed. There is a subtle interaction between the value-system of a given social group and what it produces in writing, and this relationship contains some indication of the processes of culture-change which are always taking place but which are extremely difficult to evaluate. Also intergroup tensions find their reflection in the written word, and it can be used as a barometer of the climate of the times although this approach is only in its rudimentary stages.

In the world of the library, as in the world in general, much is different from what it appears to be, and to determine what we have agreed to call the "social function" becomes in some respects a surgical undertaking, sometimes distant from the general idea that books only reflect the brighter side of human consciousness.

The written word is revealing, not always by what it states but by what it implies. It shows, although it operates under the limitations of the value-system of the culture under which it appears, the entire fabric of

this society. In writing, the values of a society are not only developed and expressed but also doubted and denied. The whole range of human emotions expresses itself in writing, not only in literature but even in the staid language of government reports and scientific works.

The library may have the function of a sieve but it is a sieve with very uneven meshes, which themselves reflect the structure of its society. This structure is far from being a neat logical entity: it is a product of social growth, with all the disproportion and unevenness that this growth displays to the minds of those who prefer to think in the easier terms of logic and rationality.

But in order to accept life, we have to accept it in all its fullness and to see it as the ultimate mystery in which we play an uncertain and hesitant role; striving to find support in knowledge and power, but in reality walking a semi-darkness in which we see only what is most immediate and most necessary. We collect the records from the past to find security for the future although the future always presents new problems for which past experience offers but slim support.

After this avowal of scepticism, it may seem strange that this study also contains some observations on the future function of the library. But, although knowledge may not be the firm rock which it is sometimes deemed to be, there are, nevertheless, certain facts which can safely be accepted. These facts are simple but, although they are simple or even because of this simplicity, much can be derived from them.

Culture growth shows a positive correlation to the number of people who make up the culture in question and to the rate of their inter-communications. We refer to what the French sociologist Durkheim called the numerical and social density of a group.

The written word appears at a given stage of this development and so does the library. If a group shows an increase in density and if it shows cultural progress,

measurable by its production of material and non-material means, it is possible to calculate within reasonably reliable limits what its future requirements will be. New needs are added to old ones but, in spite of this, a certain basic need-structure remains which is rooted in human nature itself. Thus the factor of quantitative increase, which almost automatically increases cultural complexity, becomes of overwhelming importance. This is a factor that can be estimated upon the basis of past trends.

If we put the library in a global society, of which we can predict at least the probable rate of increase, a number of observations can be made about its future role and functions. We also know that, if this global society is to be a functioning one, we must aim at avoiding excessive social distance, just as we have done within most national societies. Within these latter societies, the function of the library not only expresses a higher rate of social communication but it is one of the main contributory factors.

There is no reason to assume that this would be different for the world in general. Our future depends upon our capacity to understand one another, and, although the basic motivation is primordial, knowledge is needed to implement and fortify this process.

Thus, the international role of the library is a significant one which should be developed in those parts of the world where the need is strongest.

In this respect, nothing will speak a clearer language than facts and figures. If we look at the data for illiteracy, number of publication, number of libraries, availability of written materials, types of materials, types of control and censorship, etc., we obtain a picture that shows us how far global society has as yet to travel.

It is also essential to recognize that a global society must show structure and that it cannot be an equalitarian one. It is wiser to aim for the possible

than to insist upon ideals which are so far from reality that they are not capable of realisation. Besides, complex technology involves a complex division of labor, and a complex division of labor creates a complex society rather than a simple one. Thus, while differentiation is essential, it is even more essential that this differentiation be kept within such limits that excessive tensions are avoided. This means wider dissemination of at least the most basic knowledge which modern Man has acquired in fields like public administration, political science, economics, sociology, psychology, medicine, nutrition, engineering, physics, chemistry, biology, etc. In short, a certain minimum-knowledge which is necessary to make a social group function at the level of normalcy is a minimum-goal from which we are far removed.

Obviously, observations of this kind will lead us in this study to deal with the work of the international agencies and of the great powers insofar as they are concerned with these types of problems.

It can, of course, be noted that social institutions show a tendency to expand their activities. Librarians might believe that a better future is almost synonymous with bigger and better libraries, at the expense of the butcher, the baker and the candlestick-maker. Similar beliefs are not uncommon among other professions, and they should be considered as the indication of a healthy desire for growth which is generally checked by the equally healthy desires of others.

It has not always been easy to see the library as a living institution. The word "library" seems to imply a certain staidness, dullness even, which does not appeal to the imagination. It also seems to suffer from a certain disequilibrium because it conjectures the picture of thousands of books, moulding away in dusty corners without ever being asked for, being guarded by fanatic zealots whose collecting fervor is almost frightening to the outsider or to the daring visitor who really wants a book.

There have been libraries like that, and many still have some of these features. But the library is in the process of coming alive, and this process will largely determine its social function in the future. If it is possible to define this function, and if this function gains fairly general support, then the library will be an essential part of a society, which is fully alive and fully geared to the needs of the individual.

Notes

- 1 The Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. XIV, London and New York, 1934 devotes about 60 pages to terms in which the word "social" occurs.

Chapter II.

Who Reads And Why?

The question "Who reads" can be answered statistically but it must be kept in mind that, in this case, we are investigating who engages in an action which, by a general term, is called "reading."

If we start to ask what is meant by "reading", we have a far more complex problem to deal with. If someone is looking at printed material of which he understands only a few words, can we then say that he is "reading?" What is the presupposed connection between the mind of the reader and the material that is being read? This connection is mostly tacitly assumed but it is in reality very complex.

One person, A, transfers certain ideas into a linguistic pattern, and this pattern, in its printed form is then put at the disposal of persons B, C, D, etc. Person A must feel a need to communicate; persons B, C, D, etc. must have the need of being communicated to in order to achieve the process that is commonly referred to as "reading."

The need to communicate must have some basis in the need-structure of the individual. It can consist in a more direct emotional need, like in face-to-face or artistic communication, or it can be a deferred need such as that of the person who teaches or who writes a textbook to earn money or to enhance his social status. The first need-category exists in the animal world. The second prevails to a much higher extent in the more complex human societies. The need to teach and the corresponding need to learn both of which could be re-

garded as "deferred or secondary needs" also exist in animals. It is difficult to distinguish "primary" and "secondary" needs because even the apparently most superfluous needs are the expression of the need-structure of a social group. "Superfluous" needs can be considered such by observers or reformers only: they are anything but superfluous to the person who actually feels them.

Needs can only be considered to be of varying degrees of essentiality in terms of the need-structure of an individual or group over a prolonged period. If they are considered as organic stimuli, their importance is exclusively determined by the intensity of the stimulus.

Thus, from the point of view of the individual, the need to communicate is determined by the intensity of the corresponding stimulus, and the same holds true of the need to receive communication. Both processes involve the expenditure and the transfer of organic forms of energy, and it cannot be said in any general way that the energy-expenditure of talking or writing is higher than those of listening or reading. This could, at best, only be determined in a specific case. It should be pointed out, however, that in any interaction between two or more individuals a structural relationship is involved that exercises a certain influence on the respective energy-expenditures.

If someone writes a simple text in Arabic, his energy-expenditure might be lower than that of the person who reads it as a beginning student of this language. The energy-expenditure will also be influenced by the relationship between the two individuals involved: it differs for a relationship of teacher and pupil, of friend and friend, of socially inferior to socially superior, of dominant to submissive character, etc., as, in all those cases, the social relationship causes a difference in motivation which, in turn, influences the effort put into the task.

Consequently it is not possible to view the "communicator-communicatee" relationship in any simple

fashion, and, above all, it is hardly feasible to consider this relationship apart from a concretely given social context, although to view it in its simplest forms might be permissible as an initial step toward its understanding.

If seen in this form, it is clear that communication might result from various points or levels in the need-structure. The stimulus to communicate can originate in an emotion, like fear, hunger, anger, joy; or it can originate in a more intellectual process, like the realisation that in order to move a heavy stone the aid of another person is essential so that some communication must be made to him. Far more complex are the communications which are aimed at strengthening, expressing or weakening relationships of super- or subordination. These are and were the most crucial ones in the pattern of human societies and are, in their simplest forms, the outcome of the natural differentiation in age, and sex groups, to which soon a certain division of labor was added.

It was undoubtedly true that the first, more lasting, forms of communication such as temples, statues, monuments, etc. arose from the desire to perpetuate existing social structures or to mark important innovations.

The dominant or leading individual or group seeks to perpetuate itself as an expression of the very basic desire for group-continuity. As this continuity expresses itself in group-structure, it is quite logical that the structure of a group has a tendency to become permanent. This desire for permanence explains why burial ceremonies and burial monuments play such an important part in pre-literate societies and in early cultures.

The King, as the warrior and lawgiver, seeks to perpetuate himself, not only from religious motives - in turn perhaps partially a reflection of the social group - but because it is he who has given cohesion to the group through his personal attributes.

The larger the group a leader can form, the more he is thought of as a "great King" because, then as well as now, the greater the complexity of a group, the greater its power.

From the beginnings of our social and political history, it has been obvious that centralisation leads to a more complex division of social labor and that, within certain limits, the greater complexity puts a premium on inventiveness and creativeness of the individual. If a social group grows, the resultant greater complexity - provided it remains one group in the sociological sense of the word - involves greater numerical as well as social density if we mean by the latter term, following the French sociologist Durkheim, an increase in communications.

Thus, social growth does not show an arithmetic but rather a geometric ratio of increase in communication.

This explains why communication in its more complex forms only appears at a certain stage of our social development. The means of communication are a function of this development, and it is not the means themselves which are important but their role in relation to the function of communication.

It is undoubtedly possible to point to isolated instances in preliterate societies in which forms of communication resembling writing developed, but the function of communication in less developed social groups was not complex enough to stimulate further concentration on those means.

If we look at the function rather than at the means, it is quite logical that writing only developed when the social structure had become more complex and also that it consisted predominantly in communication from the leading social group to the group in its entirety. While records of early Babylon and Egypt, include examples of criticisms of the existing order and of legal cases which, obviously, record complaints against authority, on the

whole, the early written communications are given by kings, law-givers, prophets, priests, and administrators, with only a very small percentage coming from the other strata of society.¹ Perhaps scientific communications, like those of astronomers, physicians, mathematicians, etc., must be regarded as coming next in the sequence of development.

However, it is very important to note that new technological means are generally first under the control of ruling groups and utilized for their purposes and only spread very gradually over wider segments of the population.

Consequently, the question of the "reader" does not arise in the early stages of writing because the written communications are most frequently directed at people of the same social status in subsequent generations: later kings, jurists, priests, etc. They communicate orally what the preceding generations have transmitted to them so that the "reader" remains for a long time primarily a listener. As a result of this, his response is emotional or a spiritual rather than the more critical response of a reader, which involves a greater use of the intellect and a greater possibility of choice.

In Greece writing was not held in the same high esteem as in Egypt and Babylon.² Probably an author first circulated his manuscript among his friends and, later on, it was made available for copying. As there was no protection of literary property, enterprising people began to undertake the copying of important works which were then offered for sale. This can be regarded as the beginning of the book trade and should probably be placed in the beginning of the 5th century B.C.

It seems impossible to make a reliable estimate of the number of written materials in the early cultures but it can be assumed that they circulated mainly among the upper classes.

Some estimates are available about the size of the

early libraries, which were frequently connected with temples or palaces. A distinction between libraries and archives was not made until the late Roman period.

In Greece under the influence of the Sophists it became a matter of prestige to build up collections of manuscripts. Plato and Aristotle created valuable libraries in their schools of philosophy; and Aristotle must have had a considerable collection at his disposal judging from all the data that can be found in his works.

The greatest libraries of Antiquity were developed by the Hellenistic world, which attempted to create an inventory of what Greek learning and thinking had achieved. Ptolemy Philadelphas (280-247) was the originator of the famous library of the Museion in Alexandria to which a smaller one in the temple of Serapis was added. The total number of works in those libraries has been estimated at about 400,000 rolls, probably including many duplicates and many translations from Egyptian, Babylonian, Phoenician, Hebraic and Aramaic writings.³ Roman writers have estimated that the Alexandrian libraries contained about 700,000 rolls at the time of the fire.

Although there are many data on the early libraries, as well as on their collections and techniques, we find little material about their readers. It is known that the library of Assurbanipal was a public one; then, many centuries later, we find mention of a public library in Rome; planned by Julius Ceasar and carried out by Asinius Pollo about 39 B.C. This library was located in the Atrium Libertatis and contained Greek and Latin works.

There is little doubt that the readers of the early libraries consisted mostly of scholars, statesmen, jurists, literati and others to whom cultural activity was part of normal social life. A possible exception must be made perhaps, for Babylon and Egypt where written materials seem to have been rather widely used and might have reached tenants on the land and comparable social groups.

If we consider that the population of Athens in the fifth century B.C. has been estimated at about 150,000, more than one-third consisting of slaves, it seems logical to assume that reading was mostly done aloud to discussion-groups and that direct individual reading must have been quite limited. This is supported by the fact that literary and philosophic writing comprised a much higher percentage of books than in later periods, and this type of writing is particularly suitable for public reading or declamation.

What could be called "status-reading" - reading to enhance one's social position - must have been a comparatively small percentage of total reading because the societies of Antiquity did not possess a high degree of social mobility and had few professions for which reading was an essential requirement.

On the other hand, there was undoubtedly much greater emotional participation in the productions of art and philosophy, and the impact of reading on minds which possessed great plasticity and imaginativeness must have been great.

Oskar Thyregod in his well-known work "Die Kulturfunktion der Bibliothek"⁴ uses the distinction, made by Max Scheler, of salvation-, cultural-, and achievement-knowledge to give a background to his analysis of the cultural function of libraries. This distinction is useful, though it is obviously one of degree rather than an absolute one. Both cultural and achievement-knowledge are functions of more complex social groups and their structure, while salvation-knowledge is perhaps more strongly represented in earlier cultures.

However, each civilization seems to go through stages in which the value placed upon the different types of knowledge differs. Salvation-knowledge appears to be given great value in the early stages of a civilization and also in the period of decline, while cultural and achievement-knowledge are attributes of periods of progress and of an approach to maturity. Achievement-

knowledge, in its close connection with technological development, is highly valued in modern society because it increases the survival potential of large social groups.

It would be erroneous, however, to consider writing and reading purely in their quantitative aspects and to conclude that modern society had reached a higher level because its production in the fields of achievement-knowledge is so vastly superior to that of earlier periods. If salvation-, cultural- and achievement-knowledge were to increase at the same time, there would be justification in speaking about a "higher" level but this conclusion is not warranted without thorough analysis.

If achievement-knowledge is seen as a function of the social density of groups, it is the expression of the survival-potential of larger groups but whether larger groups automatically show an increase in cultural and salvation knowledge is a complex problem. Salvation-knowledge is undoubtedly linked to the emotional insecurity which prevails in early cultural stages, and it becomes more hidden in the subconscious when technological progress and the resultant control over the natural environment lessen this feeling of insecurity. Therefore, it is not amazing that salvation-knowledge occupied the foremost place in the Middle Ages in regard to writing as well as reading, and that its percentage of the total has decreased sharply in modern times.

The function of culture-knowledge is extremely hard to determine. It seems to show its greatest flowering in the periods which show a transition from a predominantly religious period to a period which devotes a high percentage of its energy to the development of achievement-knowledge. Those periods show a wavering between the high ideals of the past and the more practical mentality of the future; as a result, preoccupation with what Man is and how his attributes and talents can be developed requires a larger part of human energy. Greece of the 5th century B.C., the Roman Empire, the Renaissance, and the New Era (1500-1800) in Europe are perhaps good examples of such periods.

It must also be pointed out that a dominant social group as, for instance, a leading nation, always has the obligation to present an explicit and consciously formulated culture-pattern as it must rationalize its position in regard to other social groups. This rationalization of a successful culture-pattern can take place in the terminology of salvation-, culture-, or achievement-knowledge, according to the spirit of the times, but the function of the formulation is a cultural one.

A social group can never present its culture-pattern in pure achievement-knowledge terms as this would have no appeal to either mind or spirit. It must state its values in human-philosophic or religious terms in order to effect the appeal which is the purpose of this formulation.

The result of this is that while social sub-groups may express their thought-patterns more exclusively in terms of achievement-knowledge, leading social groups, whether they are classes or nations, tend to devote more attention to the formulation of goals in cultural terms. Since this possibility is also related to their economic status, it is clear that the more secure and the more permanent a leading social group is, the more it will succeed in the creation of very intricate culture-patterns. Nations which have held power for a long time are apt to express the opinion that more recently "arrived" nations are less "cultured," although their recent acquisition of power may give them a great missionary zeal. This, however, is more a part of salvation-knowledge which tends to be stronger in social groups of a more recent vintage or in social groups which have passed their peak in the fields of achievement-knowledge. The anxiety, resulting from a loss in power, easily leads to a greater stress on salvation-knowledge.

The general conclusions which could be formulated from these observations are as follows:

- 1) Early cultural stages tend to show great stress on salvation-knowledge; secondly, on cultural knowledge

and less on achievement-knowledge as not enough practical experience has been accumulated and the required forms of thinking have not yet developed.

2) Intermediary cultural stages show great preoccupation with the expression of culture-knowledge.

3) In later and mature culture-periods achievement-knowledge increases and is seen more as a purpose in itself than as a part of culture-knowledge. Increasing social complexity and increasing differentiation of functions makes achievement-knowledge an essential requirement for social progress while conversely, greater social mobility results from this requirement.

4) In periods of decline, achievement- and cultural-knowledge diminish; salvation-knowledge, in the form of individualistic solutions of problems tends to increase.

This very general scheme permits some interesting conclusions in regard to the functions of written materials and of reading.

If the conclusion is accepted that early cultural stages devote a high percentage of their energy to salvation-knowledge, while the technological level is low, it is obvious that writing concentrates on those subjects and that reading is limited to the very few who are charged with the continuation and dissemination of the existing culture-pattern. For most people, the problem of survival and the requirements of direct communication preclude the more complex forms of indirect and more rational communication. Religious writings dominate in relation to legal or governmental works (culture-knowledge) or to science (achievement-knowledge). Art (legends, "chanson de geste", troubadours) as perhaps a mixture of individual salvation and culture-knowledge comes to the fore relatively late although the same function is partly carried by religious writings.

Culture-knowledge is undoubtedly the form of thought which has given impetus to writing in its most highly developed and most intricate forms. It has fos-

tered philosophy as well as literature. It has the greatest appeal to the emotional, intellectual and spiritual need-structure of the individual - who finds in it a vast array of moods, thoughts and feelings which may rekindle his own mind.

These attributes are lacking in achievement-knowledge which appeals only to the rational part of Man's mind; reading in this field does not come out of any direct emotional motivation, except perhaps in some exceptional cases.

Culture-knowledge exercises its greatest fascination in dynamic periods which seek innovation in all fields, are immensely alive and curious and full of underlying emotional intensity. The periods in which it dominates are the periods of thinkers, philosophers, statesmen, poets and writers who produce their works out of a direct need to communicate their ideas, and, generally, with the goal of reaching as many people as conditions permit.

The best example of this period is perhaps Western Europe from 1500-1900 when intellectual curiosity penetrated all fields of human activity, and when emotions were strong enough and strongly enough controlled to create a climate that was favorable to artistic writing of a very high caliber.

The opinion has often enough been expressed that since about 1900 or perhaps since World War I, a decline in culture-knowledge has set in due to preoccupation with achievement-knowledge, and art became a function of the need for relaxation and information and less of an immediate goal in the realm of culture-knowledge.

It is obvious that there is some structural relation between the two realms of knowledge: Achievement-knowledge presupposes the agreement of a social group about a set of goals: the goals themselves become less a subject of general discussion. To give an example: in the New Era (1500-1800) the goals of law and of gov-

ernment were less agreed upon than in the 20th century. Consequently we find many more works about the philosophy of law and government; at present technical works on law and political science appear in vast quantities but the philosophic ones have diminished sharply if measured as a percentage of the total works in those fields.

In addition, the general style of a period influences the way in which books are written. If the accent is a cultural one, style and presentation tend to be influenced by the works of culture-knowledge. If achievement-knowledge dominates, it exercises its influence even on those works which belong to the cultural realm. This trend is strengthened by the fact that publishing tends to orient itself to the field of most successful achievement. An example of this is the difficulty of publishing poetry at present as compared to the 19th century.

A third point is the mentality of the reader who becomes most receptive to the habitual forms of communication and shuns those which require special effort on his part, particularly if this effort carries no increase in social recognition.

This problem also has quantitative aspects. Reading in the realm of salvation-knowledge which could be described by the term "devotional reading" demands participation of the whole personality: emotions, mind and spirit are in action, and the process is one in which each word, each sentence can gain the greatest significance. The same book is read and re-read, pondered about, learned by heart and seen in many moods and frames of perception. It is something that is possessed and is a part of the life of the individual or group. The devotion of a person is not measured by the number of books he has read but by the way he has absorbed their meaning.

In regard to culture-knowledge, the reading of "good" books stands in the center of attention. A person is considered to be "erudite" or "cultured" if he has read the leading works in philosophy and literature.

No detailed or specialized knowledge is expected of him but rather a broad philosophic vision of the processes of Society and Nature. The possession of a collection of books is essential; and their appearance is also a matter of importance.

There are many common features in devotional- and in culture-reading but the latter process involves more reading; for the sake of reading, or as a means to develop taste and artistic judgment. It is seen as a means to enrich conversation and to build a barrier against those classes which cannot participate to any considerable extent in these cultural processes. It is also truly international: works are read as much as possible in the original language and knowing another language means knowing its literature.

Reading in the realm of achievement-knowledge is a far more mechanical process: style and presentation are standardized and of secondary importance. Books of this type do not express the personality of the author but present their contents in a formalized and impersonal way. They are mostly read because the reader needs the material they contain; little emotional pleasure is involved in their reading.

Often they are only read in part or copied from or used to compile books of the same type. Their range is small so that many books of the same type are produced, with slight variations, for comparable categories of readers in other locations or in other social groups. They do not presuppose any erudition on the part of the reader, nor any knowledge of other languages or cultures. The desire to own them is only felt by the technician in the same field who uses them for practical purposes. They are not an object for the collector or for the reader who buys books to gratify his intellectual or spiritual desires and who delights in his book-collection. Their reading or perusal involves only a part of the reader's mind and has little impact on his emotions or on the building of a well-rounded personality.

It is this third category which is produced in great quantities in modern society and which is of such importance to the modern library, and the library plays a highly significant role in the preservation of this type of material.

Perhaps a fourth category should be added, namely, the category of "compensatory writing and reading." Each social pattern overdevelops certain attributes of the mind and neglects others. As a result, mental frustrations develop which can become aggravated if a society operates under a high degree of tension.

If a society begins to show a more complex division of social labor, it tends to generate higher tensions in the individual because he is forced into a repetitive task, demanding self-control, so that only a very small part of his personality can find expression and only in a rhythm which is imposed from without. As a result, strong needs for compensation set in: physical compensation in terms of exercise or physical relaxation; mental compensation in terms of escapist reading. Adventure-stories, love-stories, detective-stories, comic strips, cartoons, etc. cater to this need. It has resulted in a vast category of books which are on the borderline between literature and entertainment.

It is perhaps useful to note that many publications would fall under intermediate categories and that a division as presented is meant more for clarification than for any very concrete purpose.

The role of the Library differs in relation to each of these four categories. In periods in which salvation-knowledge predominates, it shapes the realms of culture and achievement-knowledge as well. All these types need preservation for the sake of the continuity of the social group but relatively small quantities of written materials are sufficient for this purpose.

Culture-knowledge predominated in the period of the libraries of princes and nobles. The university added the type of the scientific and research-library.

Both those types of libraries were small until the 19th century when the ideal of achievement-knowledge caused rapid increase as well as specialisation.

The modern public library caters to the need for cultural-and achievement-knowledge as well as for compensatory reading, generally referred to by the revealing term "fiction."

Among the various social factors which influence writing and reading, a last one needs mention in this chapter: the rate of change which occurs in a social group.

There is no conclusive theory about the reasons which underlie social change. In a magnificent manner, the English historian A. Toynbee has demonstrated that the fate of a social group is determined by the manner in which it meets the challenges which life offers. But we can only observe this process after it has occurred, and, as to its causes, we have to satisfy ourselves with general concepts like "vitality" that cannot be determined in advance. There is also no possibility of any prior knowledge of the challenges which a group may have to undergo. As a consequence, theories about social change can only offer analyses of the past and offer some generalizations which possess no more than a very limited probability.

It can be observed, however, that a change in one of the constituting factors of a social group operates throughout the whole structure of the group in question and that it is not possible to isolate one factor.

In a period of intensive social change, constant pressures lead to innovations and to the questioning of many ideas and thought-patterns which are taken for granted in more static periods. The realm of intellectual curiosity widens, while the range of "absolute" cultural values diminishes. As a result, the production of works in the realms of culture- and achievement-knowledge tends to increase, while writing which deal with the exposition of unquestioned values diminishes. If the

rate of change becomes too high and the cohesion of the social group is threatened, a reversal often sets in and greater stress is placed upon the permanence of ideological values.

Particularly if a society is highly dynamic in the achievement realm, it may have to re-assert its cohesion by adhering quite firmly to certain ultimate values. Change, in other words, influences all realms of thought but, if change is extensive in one field compensatory influences may result in greater stabilization in others.

In periods of intensive social change activities in which change is most immediately visible may receive undue emphasis. Change in the achievement realm becomes a goal in itself instead of being seen as a means toward the purpose of establishing a well-balanced life. However, the operation of compensatory mechanisms can be seen in this case also. An example of this is the great current interest in the religious novel.

For the foregoing it will have become clear that it is not possible to speak about "the" function of writing, reading or of libraries. They have manifold and highly complex functions of which one may seem somewhat more pronounced in one period than in another, and which also differ in each concrete culture-pattern and, ultimately, also in the case of each individual who possesses a unique mental structure of his own that resembles that of others only in certain aspects. In addition, the field of social relations is in constant flux so that any generalizations about it have only a limited value and need concrete examples in order to put some flesh and blood on the dry bones of abstraction.

At the present time it is perhaps possible to offer the following tentative generalizations:

- 1) In early culture-periods, salvation-knowledge was highly developed. As a result, there was a dominance of temple and church or convent libraries. Their collections were frequently secret, and the writings possessed an inspirational or charismatic quality in regard

to the reader. They possessed authority and were regarded with an awe that at times possesses a mystic quality. The relative scarcity of written materials tended to support these attributes, also strengthened by the fact that the librarians were mostly learned monks.

2) In periods in which culture-knowledge predominates, the collections of kings and princes came to the fore as well as the university libraries, and later municipal libraries. The invention of printing augmented the available materials considerably but the element of veneration for the published word persisted. Knowledge was supposed to hold the key to happiness and perfection, and this quality was attributed particularly to abstract and theoretical knowledge.

The interest in the applied sciences began but remains secondary although thinkers like Leibniz⁵ already visualized the library as the depository of much practical information. Literature made steady headway and occupied a place of increasing importance in the 17th and 18th century.⁶ Reading remained limited to the cultured classes until the late 19th century and was definitely a class-attribute so that it lead to "attitudinizing and mannerisms."

The admissibility to libraries widened but the idea of some restrictions continued and was often subject to the individual attitude of the collector: Librarians were often known scholars or literati, and learning was supposed to be prerequisite for the profession of which selection was an important activity.⁷ The first catalogue appeared in Leyden in 1595.

3) The period of predominance of achievement-knowledge. The period of the large national and scientific libraries, of special libraries and of the modern public library which also caters to the need for compensatory reading. The librarian became a technician, with expert knowledge in the fields of acquisition, cataloging, classification and bibliography.

The size of the library increased tremendously:

the medieval content-library consisted often of no more than 800-1000 manuscripts, the libraries of the New Era reached into the hundreds of thousands; but it was the modern period which brought large libraries into the millions. There is a correlation with the increase of population although many other factors obviously entered into the picture.

In the present chapter, a number of factors which enter into sociological analysis of books, readers and libraries have been briefly touched upon. The following chapters will go into greater detail but the same basic concepts will be used again as they seem to give a useful perspective to the problems with which we are dealing.

Notes

- 1 Perhaps with the exception of Egypt where written materials were quite frequent.
- 2 Cp. p. 85. Vol. I. Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft, Herausgegeben von Fritz Milkau, Leipzig, 1931.
- 3 Cp. pag. 10-15. Vol. II. "Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft," Leipzig, 1941.
- 4 Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1936.
- 5 Leibniz, in a letter to the Duke of Brunswick of 1702, listed the following topics as of importance to the ducal library; Cameralistics, finance, police administration, contagious diseases, funerals, popular pastimes, carnevals, gardening, military matters, geneaology, arms, maps, travel-descriptions, border disputes, persuasion, etc. quoted by Thyrejid, o.c. p. 37.
- 6 "Belles lettres" forms one of the five basic classes of which "Théologie, Jurisprudence, Sciences et Arts, Histoire" were the others. Cléments classification in 23 classes of 1675 was built on this foundation.
- 7 Gabriel Naudé in his "Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque" (1627) developed his scheme for a

universal library, equipped with works in all fields of science in the original language as well as in translations. He was against the desire to collect rare books but wanted new as well as old literature even the works of heretics. Naudé also wanted the Mazarin Library to be open "à tous ceux qui y voulaient aller estudiér."

Cp. pag. 71 in A. Hessel "Geschichte der Bibliotheken." Göttingen, 1925.

Chapter III.

Devotional Reading

Devotional reading is the counterpart of what could be called "inspirational" writing. This form of writing emerges from a need for spiritual or emotional expression and tends to dominate in periods in which salvation and culture knowledge are the primary goals of human endeavor.

It is perhaps essential to remark that this form of writing does not affect only what is commonly called "knowledge," but that it is primarily an expression of emotional, intellectual, artistic and spiritual experience that has been ordered only in so far as this is essential for the goal of communication.

If inspirational writing is considered in the terms of the communicator-communicatee relationship, it is clear that it involves related but different attitudes on the part of the writer and the reader.

Inspirational communication as the logical concept of which this form of writing is a subdivision tended by its very nature to be oral rather than written. The chanted prayers of the priest, the sagas told of kings and heroes, the orations of statesmen and generals, the exhortations and sermons of holy men or saints were delivered orally, long before they were ever written down and even when this process started, it was carried out in continuation of the tradition which sought to influence the listener's or reader's emotions rather than his intellect.

The rhythm of a story; the dramatic and emotional

tensions of legal or political pronouncements or orations; the magic of words of literary works; the mystery and authority of the contents of religious communication were all aimed at the emotions of the listener or reader and sought to increase his group-allegiance via his pride in the lofty feelings of his leaders.

Even in the modern world, direct oral communication is often preferred for religious and literary communication and reading is to many people an unsatisfactory substitute because many of the appeals of oral communication are lacking.

Inspirational communication requires, on the part of the person who engages in it, a direct emotional need. He is under a compulsion to communicate what is in his mind, and there is a direct appeal to the emotions of his readers. This emotional zeal, which is involved on both sides, does not have to be of a religious nature. It can be patriotic or artistic, but it involves the fervor which we most commonly associate with religious feelings.

If we say that somebody is "religiously" studying mathematics, we mean that there is an emotional devotion on his part to this topic, which is not generally approached with that attitude. Thus, in the ideal case, the inspirational attitude prevails on the side of the writer, the devotional one on that of the reader. In reality, however, there are many intermediate forms: religious writing can become utterly rational, while reading of material meant to be quite unemotional can acquire the opposite attribute. There are people who are emotional readers of time-tables and travel guides although they were hardly written in that spirit. On the other hand, the literary analyst or historian, who seeks the image of a given period, reads poems with a critical eye.

As a consequence, the concepts which are used here should not be taken too rigidly. They have the above meaning in the majority of cases and this must suffice for the purposes of this book. It must also be pointed out that the social allegiance of a person greatly

influences his attitude as a reader. If a German reads the biography of a German national hero, he may approach this topic with awe and devotion while an American, reading the same book, might be dominated by the detached rationality of an outside observer.

As a writer has no control over his readers, he may aim his writing at a group by which it is ignored while it is taken up by another. This holds true for some novelists who started to be successful outside their own country though they could hardly have aimed at this consciously. It is also of relevance that a writer may consciously conform to a culture-pattern against which he revolts subconsciously. This might penetrate quite unexpectedly to his readers while the person who purposely writes a "revolutionary" novel might be considered quite flat by his public. In other words, both writing and reading may not always be what they purport to be but it would be too speculative to probe into the hidden or subconscious motives of either party. Frustration is a ready word in our contemporary society, and examples of what was referred to will easily come to the reader. As it is too easy, however, to interpret frustrations into what people read or write, that possibility will be merely noted here.

It must also be observed that for a work to be of lasting influence, its form seems to be more important than the contents. If a writer attempts to convey strong sentiments, but does not succeed in giving them proper form, he will influence only those who are subject to the same emotions. Perfection of form, however, gives the more subtle intellectual pleasure which gives a book a permanent place in the world of writing.

The combination of both attributes: a strong emotional appeal and a corresponding form makes for even greater permanence while the most lasting works perhaps have been those which go through the entire scale of human sentiments, moods and ideas, as was the case with the great religious books, as well as some of the masterpieces of world-literature.

We are all conditioned through the processes of education to admire the monumental achievements of our culture although taste and fashion vary, and some intellectuals can be certain of some degree of success by attacking conventional heroes, as dull, uninteresting, etc. However, in the long run there is considerable permanence in our judgments about "great books", and it is not only tradition which carries them from generation to generation.

The structure of words has a magic appeal of its own, for which no adequate explanation has been given. The sequence of well-ordered words finds a response in the minds of others who are striving to express what they cannot clearly formulate. The expression of a sentiment into an oral or written form causes in itself a certain relaxation; an expressed emotion is less strong than one that is only felt. If Man is an animal given to frequently excessive verbosity, it is perhaps because this reduces his tensions, even though they may be regenerated to a lesser degree in the recipient of the communication.

There is a constant flow of words and ideas from person to person which seeks a certain equilibrium. The writer may have generally the greater tensions which make him seek expression, until the process becomes a habitual or professionalized one. It is, perhaps, one of the drawbacks of the division of labor of society that the desire for expression frequently does not correspond to the acknowledged channels of formalized expression, even though at some stage the two must somewhere meet.

The young writer is supposed to have the urge to write or the inspiration, but many tensions arise in many people during a lifetime which with difficulty seek some release through communication of comparable emotions to others.

In highly developed civilizations we throttle the capacity for expression, but this is also the condition of the emergence of a specialized art with a highly de-

veloped technique of its own. This technique does not only reflect the processes of art itself, but it is influenced by the entire mental-structure of a society. A complex society sometimes seeks compensation in primitive art-forms, but these primitive forms overlay a long and complex process and lack the unawareness of the earlier and more natural societies.

Ultimately, every society creates the forms of expression which it needs, and there would be little reason to speculate about this process, were it not that society and, consequently, its form of expression are in a constant process of change. The written word has been followed in our time by technically transmitted oral communication; this in turn by audio-visual presentation. We are hardly in a position to formulate what form of expression corresponds to what specific need although we must assume that there are needs which they fulfill.

But what are those needs? We can choose to be communicated to in direct communication, in written form, in audio or in audio visual form. Our choice, however, has its limitation as our role in society carries certain compulsions with it.

We are anxious and curious about what goes on in the world; we have to keep up with the "others;" we have our special interests and hobbies, etc. All that corresponds to this and other needs penetrate into our consciousness while the rest barely leaves any imprint.

In what way does the written word have its own specific limitations? It does appeal to only a few of our senses, and it is relatively rare that it stimulates our imagination in such a way that it brings a non-directly used sense back into play. If we read a description of a mountain brook, we may also believe that we hear it, but in this respect the written word cannot compete with audio or audio-visual presentation.

On the other hand, the written word gives us choice and selection: we can omit what we dislike,

and we determine its speed as well as its rhythm. In this way, it is more individualistic and more intellectual: it involves considerable activity on the part of the reader who brings his mind more into action than does a listener. The reading can be adjusted to the absorptive capacity of the reader: a dull or uninteresting book can be skimmed.

The reader does not have to be bored. And, in a way, he is more alone than the listener or the spectator, so his mind can absorb much more subtle variations and can be in a condition of greater receptivity. The instinct of "joining a group" does not come into play. On the other hand, this stronger element of individuality can also have its drawbacks. Reading means a certain solitude which has its rewards as well as its disadvantages.

What sort of tensions does reading presuppose in the individual? Strong emotions and high tensions make reading impossible. One has to think only of the telegram bearing bad news, of which the recipient cannot read the blurred words.

A condition of great competitiveness may stimulate achievement-reading but it is an enemy of the culture book or of devotional-reading. The latter two require a certain free flow of thoughts and emotions, considerable individuality and an absence of the feeling of "so little time."

But if devotional and culture-reading are threatening to disappear from our world, should we deplore it? We should do this only if their disappearance harms us, if the paucity of modern life carries threats that will cumulatively become dangerous to our existence. It may be that modern Man can live permanently under a condition of greater tensions, but there is no proof for this and psychiatry and psychology tell us the opposite. It is not logical to assume that an organism can operate under continued tensions so that the needs which correspond to more relaxed states of mind must necessarily reassert themselves.

Reading, particularly in its more ancient forms, correspond to the needs of a mind which seeks inspiration, width, depth; and there is no reason to believe that we can lastingly ignore these demands of our nature.

We need to be inspired whether we walk on foot or drive in an automobile; possibly more so in the latter case because the vague and semi-conscious contact with nature is lacking. We also need the vision and insight which only great books give us and which cannot be replaced by the superficial knowledge that is given by textbook-reading and is marketed under the label "scientific."

Knowledge is only essential insofar as it corresponds to our emotional structure. Our feelings make us happy or unhappy; not our knowledge unless it corresponds to an underlying emotion. Thus, if we strive to create a world which corresponds to the need-structure of Man, we must assume that it should provide for inspirational and culture-reading. And it is essential to realize that they are totally different from the reading which is done to acquire information, stimulation, sensation, etc. In the first place, they require time and a specific frame of mind on the part of the writer as well as of the reader.

One could retort that there are enough religious or poetic books to meet the demand, but each period has its own forms of devotion. The devotion of the monk, the saint, the mystic may come back but they would not appear in the same form because our anxiety is of a different nature. For the moment, our anxiety is the anxiety of masses which seeks an outlet in sports, in political meetings, in jazz-sessions, in mass-tourism, in the intoxication of technical innovation, etc.

Our society does not give us time to react as individuals. The accumulated tensions of a hectic period may, however, subside, and much of what we identify with the past may return if life finds again a more normal rhythm. They will have to subside if our society is to gain a permanence, because there is greater dan-

ger in those unformulated mass-feelings than there is in more personal emotions. There is no need to refer to examples from our recent past of which we are all aware.

Individualism is not a luxury but a necessity.

The writing as well as the reading of devotional works requires a rhythm of life which is different from that of our present time. We associate it most readily with the Middle Ages, with the civilisations of India and China, with some of the late periods of Greek and Roman civilisations.

Our own period has produced only a few new religious movements, and it is perhaps typical that one of these few seeks a connection between Christianity and science, as the two dominant forces of our civilisation.

Our thinking is predominantly rational, but there are many indications that continued, exclusively rational attitudes do not correspond to the basic psychic structure of Man, as there is a strong underlying restlessness and anxiety which is not channelled into constructive outlets. Our basic assumption that our rationality excludes anxiety is a false one. We may have gained greater control over nature, but life remains uncertain and full of vague threats, and this uncertainty penetrates our mind, even if we attempt to ignore it.

In the periods in which devotional writing prevailed, the anxiety of Man was so overwhelming that it was impossible to ignore it. As a result, it gained expression through religion, theology, philosophy, mysticism, magic, superstition, etc.; in this way the underlying fears were at least brought into the consciousness of Man. This need was so overwhelming that the inspired or contemplative life was considered to be the only one of value. This attitude prevailed in the world-religions:

- 1) Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of

the scornful.

- 2) But his delight is in the law of the Lord;
and in this law doth he meditate day and
night.
- 3) And he shall be like a tree planted by the
rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit
in his season; his leaf also shall not wither;
and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper."
(First Psalm)

Or, as Schiller put it many centuries later:

'In den heit' ren Regionen, wo die reinen
Formen wohnen, rauscht des Jammer's trüber
Strom nicht mehr"¹

Intellectually, this flight into a contemplative life was perhaps expressed most convincingly by Plato² who regarded the realm of abstract ideas as the only one through which Man could gain harmony and happiness.

"...and when they have reached fifty years of age, then let those who still survive and have distinguished themselves in every action of their lives and in every branch of knowledge come at last to their consummation: the time has now arrived at which they must raise the eye of the soul to the universal light which lightens all things, and behold the absolute good; for that is the pattern according to which they are to order the State and the lives of individuals, and the remainder of their own lives also; making philosophy their chief pursuit, but, when their turn comes, toiling also at politics and ruling for the public good, not as though they were performing some heroic action, but simply as a matter of duty; and when they have brought up in each generation others like themselves and left them in their place to be governors of the State, then they will depart to the islands of the Blest and dwell there, and the city will give them public memorials and sacrifices

and honor them, if the Pythian oracle consent, as demigods, but if not, as in any case blessed and divine".

Most soberly, Goethe expressed this same idea:
"Zum Sehen geboren, zum Schauen bestellt,
Dem Turme beschworen, gefällt mir die Welt.
Ich blick in die Ferne, ich seh in der Näh,
Den Mond und die Sterne, den Wald und das Reh,
So sehe ich in Allem die ewige Zier,
Und wie sie mir gefallen, gefall ich auch mir"

These quotations could be continued from the religious writings of Hinduism and Buddhism, from the Koran and from many philosophies and poets, but it is not possible in the context of this chapter to compile an anthology of devotional writing though it might be useful to have one.

In some cases, it is a thought or an emotion which creates a deep impression; in others, it might be the direct communion with nature or the purity of expression which touches psychic strings that have remained unused. But there would be no merit in compiling a list of the "Hundred Great Devotional Books," as it is for every individual to decide what speaks most directly to his spirit.

If reading is considered from the angle of its compensatory influence, it is also a fact that each period has its own specific needs for compensation. Direct observation which is an essential factor in any creative activity remains under the influence of a prevailing culture-pattern. There have been instances, however, most notably in lyrical poetry, in which a detachment is reached which enables a presentation of reality in its very essence:

"St. Agnes" Eve. Ah, bitter chill it was!
The owl, for all his feathers, was a-cold;
The hare lim'd trembling through the frozen grass,
And silent was the flock in woolly fold:
Numb were the Beadman's fingers, while he told

His rosary, and while his frosted breath,
Like pious incense from a censer old,
Seem'd taking flight for heaven, without a death,
Pass the sweet Virgin's picture, while his prayer
be saith." ⁵

A pantheistic attitude cannot be separated from a structure of emotions which presupposes a certain type of social conditions. A collectivistic society, for instance, would not encourage the emotional neutralism which is at the root of detachment. If it fosters escape from its pressures, it would lead to greater emotionality and to resulting dramatic tensions.

The books, which fall under the category with which we are dealing generally possess a high emotional charge and feed the fears and passions of Man.

"John Bunyan was scared into "grace" by the terror of the eternal damnation which he extracted from religious books. He read little, but every word affected him like a powerful drug. The Bible, says Edward Dowden, is like a world of living agencies to him; a text leaps out upon him or grapples him as if it were an angel or a demon."⁶

In devotional reading a Bible-text, for instance, is absorbed into the mind completely and becomes part of the mental structure. It encourages or prohibits action and is constantly reconsidered or weighed in the new situations which constantly arise. It is meant to give a definite structure to the mind but it can equally well become a source of tormenting doubt if it conflicts strongly with underlying emotions.

Devotional reading prevails in periods and in people who mistrust their own emotions and desires and who have to build up strong mental barriers in order to avoid destruction. This is indicative of strong conflicts within the mind itself although we are wont to describe them as conflicts between matter and mind, flesh and spirit, etc. In reality, however, both these realms appear in the conscious mind, and our mind strives for an equi-

librium that is dictated by its own structure.

Immaturity, strong emotions and impulses, irrationality all find a warning in the mind because they are in conflict with the attainment of a mental pattern that enables Man to cope with all the exigencies of life. The mind is an instrument set for long-time performance which encompasses innumerable generations, and the abandonment involved in a lack of control or excessive gratification of material desires violates this very structure of our mind.

The more immature a person or a culture-group is, the more heavily this choice weighs upon him and the stronger is his need for mental and spiritual support. If an individual has coped successfully with the challenges of life over a longer period, his mental pattern may become habitual and he may lose awareness of the dangers involved in breaking through the natural tendency to seek equilibrium. Once the state of equilibrium has been gained, the dimensions of life become simpler, and there is no longer the overwhelming need to re-enforce the structure of the mind or to reduce its anxiety.

It is not generally possible to say that devotional reading is good or not good. It is good when it is needed. However, one thing can be said. Although different culture-patterns and different culture-periods may bring some parts of the human need-structure into sharper forms, this structure does seem to have a certain permanence. There are always spiritual, intellectual and vital needs, and it is only their interrelationships that change. Rapid social change and technical innovation currently place heavy emphasis on our more directly material needs, but this will make the meeting of the others all the more pressing in the future.

Although the proportion varies, the basic elements are always present. Devotional reading, therefore, has its permanent place in life; and it would become a statistical problem to ascertain its role in given cultures and in given periods. To present an adequate statisti-

cal picture of devotional reading is, however, hardly possible: There is no doubt that the Sacred Books of the World religions are the most printed and most generally distributed books. The British and Foreign Bible Society¹, for instance, issued 9,936,714 volumes in 1928-28, 3,790,275 were issued by the London Bible House; 2,178,726 were in English; about 1,598,000 were circulated in Continental Europe; 442,000 in Africa; 1,075,000 in India and Ceylon; 3,640,300 in China; 986,000 in Japan and Korea; 473,000 in South America. From 1804-1928 over 385 million Bibles were circulated in 608 languages. The American Bible Society issued 10,034,797 Bibles. It had participated in the translation of the scriptures into 295 languages. The Gideon Society which seeks to carry the gospel message to commercial travellers and transients and which places Bibles in hotel rooms, had distributed 965,000 copies up to 1928 in the U.S.A. and Canada.

In public and learned libraries, the percentage of books devoted to religious topics varies considerably. In the Public Library of The Hague in the Netherlands it comprises 7 per cent of the total number; in other cases it is considerably higher. In addition there are many special libraries of religious and related materials, and it would be difficult to make any estimates of the number of novels which are written in a religious vein.

It is impossible to determine the total of literary works which would come under the heading of "Devotional writing," particularly for those countries which adhere to a single ideology. It is not possible to regard all materials produced under one culture-pattern as "inspirational" even if they may purport to possess this attribute.

Is a book on Moslem law a religious book because its legal philosophy has a religious basis? Is Marxist writing to be counted as "inspirational?" It will be so regarded in a number of countries while in others it is simply a treatise on a specific economic philosophy.

There is no satisfactory quantitative answer to

questions of this type, and even if we should find one, we should still have to deal with the problem of the impact on the reader's mind. A book represents a social relationship between writer and reader, and this relationship can be analysed under the categories which are used in this study. It is, however, quite impossible to arrive at any satisfactory quantitative analysis of these relationships as the only available ones are general: number of books published, number of libraries, amounts of books issued to readers.

If a reader requests a book on a religious topic, he may do this in order to prepare a paper, and it would be quite inadmissible to use this request as evidence of a religious attitude. It is only possible to say in a very general way that religious books and related materials must constitute a fairly high percentage of available books. In addition, we can point to certain shifts in this percentage in certain culture periods: it was higher in the Middle Ages while the percentage of literary books increased in the period from 1600-1900 in the Western World. Nevertheless, the percentage of religious and related books would definitely confirm that their reading occupies a permanent place in the human need-structure.

Another and much more concrete question is whether libraries should take into account the existence of various types of reading. From the point of view of the modern library a book is a standard commodity which is acquired, processed and put at the reader's disposal in very much the same way, with the exception of manuscripts, rare books and restricted materials. These criteria have nothing to do with the attitude of the reader; they depend on technical qualities or considerations of public order and morality. The library devotes very little attention to the psychology of reading although browsing rooms, free access to the stacks, special expositions, lectures and films are a step in this direction.

There are people who avoid libraries because great quantities of books have a deadening rather than

a stimulating effect on them. There are also people who definitely want to own the books they read although they may read them only once and perhaps only partially. It often occurs that of books of several volumes, only the first volume is read. After that, the novelty of the writer's approach wears off, and the impatient reader loses interest.

The delay involved in obtaining books in a library also discourages many people, and there is a vast category which does not know definitely what it wants to read but wants to make up its own mind. Advice can be helpful but there is often reluctance to seek advice.

As a result, libraries reach only a small percentage of the potential and actual readers, and the psychological problems involved may partially account for this.

Would it be feasible or desirable to regard, for instance, devotional reading as a specific type of reading which requires a different setting and other conditions? The reading rooms which some religious groups maintain do not fall entirely under this category, because on a specific inspirational basis, they tend to offer various types of literature and include all that pertains to their outlook.

One could visualize a reading-room in which there would be few books, instead of many. This in itself might have a salubrious effect on the visitor: there would not be the indication of a renewed appeal to his brain but a promise of relaxation, of peace and quiet, and of restful musing and pondering. There would not be much need to choose: any one of the few books would contain words and sentences that could be read and reread, without any afterthought or any practical purpose but as a means toward direct emotional satisfaction.

The attempt to influence, which even the major religions possess, would be absent because the Books of the world religions would be side by side, with no preference given to one or the other. The Bible, the Ko-

ran, the Buddhist or Hindu scriptures perhaps tell the same or a similar story: it would be the visitor who could arrive at his own conclusions. A reading-room of this type would be more like a place of worship, but of an individualized and free worship which would become only definite insofar as something might crystallize in the mind of the reader.

Modern man is subject to too many impressions; his mind constantly seeks new sensations in order to escape the fatigue which is engendered by too much speed and too much strain. Mentally he needs a few focal points but the essentiality of this is often not clear to himself, and indiscriminate reading will be of little help. If the conditions are created for devotional reading, that activity may really give the release that is so vitally needed.

The tensions which are generated in the mind by modern conditions cannot be decreased by stimuli on the same level: we seek to reduce mental tensions by strengthening ourselves physically or by direct spiritual stimulation. The influence of religion and art depend partially upon this: they take Man out from under the "wheel" of continued intellectual effort and reach a different part of his psychic make-up.

Reading cannot be regarded as one definite mental activity, it falls under a number of totally different categories. From this angle, there might be good reason to reconsider our attitude that a book is just a book, and to contemplate whether the time has not arrived for a distinction according to the function of different types of publications. A functional approach has the advantage of being modern, and, in this case it might help us to overcome a situation which threatens to overwhelm us.

We like books, but we do not want to be drowned in them, nor do we want them to become a compulsion or an obsession that forces us into mechanical reading which is not really worthy of that name but more a system of rapid registration by a human brain which derives

neither emotional, nor intellectual satisfaction from this process.

Books have been rated according to degrees of difficulty for their use in public libraries. It might be equally or more useful to determine the rhythm of reading which they require - and thus might be done upon a better scientific basis than rating their difficulty although, in both cases, the matter remains largely subjective. But organisation has to build on average responses, and the differentiation into devotional-, cultural- and achievement-reading might be useful.

In each case, motivation, speed and rhythm differ. In each case, there is also a different social function involved and a differing contribution to the reaching of a mental equilibrium. Achievement-reading is clearly utilitarian and depends upon the emotional adjustment of a person to his position in society. If the two are in a satisfactory relationship, achievement-reading will correspond to a person's position. If there is a strong motive for change, there will be a stimulus to increase it as much as possible and as much as corresponds to a person's capacities and his previous experience.

Culture-reading presupposes a more settled relationship between the individual and his social position so that there is room for embellishment, for the "theme with variations," for the cultured approach, the studied attitude, etc. It becomes of importance when work and emotional satisfaction are blended into a more artful combination. It prevails at present, for instance, in the professions.

Devotional reading is in most cases an emotional necessity, essential to mental well-being, and as such it deserves priority. It gives structure to the mind and it furnishes perspective to the other types of reading which it places "*sub specie aeternitatis*." It meets the need for "symbolic" thinking which is of such great value whether it takes place in the form of images or of abstract ideas. Through many backdoors, the need for image- and abstract thinking has re-entered into our

life but it deserves to be admitted through the front-entrance if we recognize that mental equilibrium of the individual is the condition for social equilibrium in our community. It is the task of a sociology of reading to consider the impact of the written word on the structure of the human mind under these aspects.

At present this approach is in its infancy, and its goals and methods can be but tentatively formulated. But it is clear that its task is a vast one because we are accustomed to thinking in general terms which are not a sufficient reflection of the wide range and the many perspectives that are involved.

Reading has become one of the major activities in our life, but its function in relation to our need-structure has not adequately been analyzed. It corresponds to a complex set of needs, some more direct, others more indirect. Reading as a response to a need cannot be considered in any general fashion, but has to be seen in the quality of a response. There is no general agreement about what our need-structure really consists of, but out of the phenomena of society we can arrive at conclusions about the role and the permanence of a number of our activities.

Such an analysis points to what might be called the "nucleus" of our need-structure, and this concept can help us to evaluate and study the phenomena of different periods and of different societies.

Man changes, but basically he remains the same, and in this permanence we can find the yardstick needed to evaluate his activities.

In regard to reading, this means that the three basic forms which have been distinguished may alter in their interrelationship in different times and periods, but they are basic because they correspond to the structure of Man himself.

Notes

- 1 "In the clear regions in which we find pure form,
The sad stream of misery no longer flows."
(Translation by the author).
- 2 Plato "Republic", as quoted on pag. 69-70
Masterworks of Government, Digest of 13 Great
Classics." Ed. L.D. Albott, New York, Double-
day, 1947.
- 3 Goethe, Faust II. In the translation of John
Auster. The second part of Goethe's Faust, n.p.
1886.
"On the height of his Water-tower,
The warder's employment,
While he glances around,
Is but change of enjoyment.
I gaze on the distant,
I look on the near,
On the moon and the bright stars,
The wood and the deer.
All that I look on
Is lovely to see
I am happy, and all things
Seem happy to me."
- 4 Cp. p. 10 in Holbrook Jackson "The reading of
books" London, Faber and Faber, n.d.
"The only hundred best books is the hundred that
is best for you. Nor should a potential graduate
in bookmanship read what he ought to read. But
also he may free himself from external interfer-
ences, or upon attempts at the subjugation of any
natural taste he may have, reading is not free of
its own conditions."
- 5 Kents "The eve of St. Agnes."
- 6 Holbrook Jackson. o.c. p. 76.
- 7 Data from the Encyclopedia Brittanica, Vol. 3,
Art. "Bible Societies." Chicago, 1947.

Chapter IV.

Culture-Reading

The title of this chapter needs some initial clarification. The term "culture" can apply to the total attitude of a social group or it can refer more specifically to, what is also often called "cultural activities," like writing, painting, sculpture, architecture, etc. In the first meaning it has gained a fairly general usage through the influence of anthropology and sociology, but the second interpretation is still the one that is most universally accepted.

In the context of this analysis, it is the second meaning that will be employed. The expression "culture-reading" implies that reading is undertaken primarily as a goal in itself, responding to an emotional and intellectual need; not one of a great or sudden impact, but rather a constant element in a fairly balanced psychic structure. Secondly, culture-reading is a response to the desire for status-enhancement and for the formation of a set of constant social attributes which protect the interests of specific social groups.

In this way, it suggests neither a wholly static, nor a wholly dynamic society but one that shows a considerable rate of social change. This change, however, is carried by certain classes or groups of the society and is not immediately interpreted as affecting the society as a whole. If we find there is "culture-reading," we think of societies with a pronounced elite or a leisure class, more than of a caste-society which is averse to all change, and which would tend to foster symbolic rather than intellectual attitudes. Yet, "culture" in this sense is a symbol in itself which implies that

belonging to a higher social class is linked to certain requirements of mind and intellect. The "cultured" person is not a leader who appeals to the masses, certainly not in times of stress, but he most frequently furnishes those who function as counselors; as mature statesman, as reliable civil-servants, as erudite scholars and literati, as the traveled and well-educated merchant, as the broadly developed lawyer or physician, as the clergyman who has "risen above the narrow view," etc.

"Culture," in this sense conjures the picture of dignified town-houses or pleasant country-estates, of wealth combined with taste, of a feeling of social responsibility that is considered and analysed. It suggests progress without haste, a love for the material side of life but as an expression of a development of taste and judgment. It is equally indicative of a desire to set oneself and one's group off from "the others;" it can be democratic in principle, but not in manners or erudition. It brings to mind periods in which upper classes favor the use of another language than their own; in which travel is the prerogative of the happy few and in which progress was for the people, but not by the people.

"Culture," as implied in this connection, belongs to the few and not to the many. It involves a certain paternalism, but not a dictatorial or brutal attitude. The "cultured" are merely self-seeking because they believe that their culture benefits the whole group, and their individualism is mental rather than of a domineering type, even though the one attitude has occasionally led to the other.

In the history of Western civilisation, the period of the Renaissance and of Humanism is the one that is frequently connected with the rise of this type of a general cultural attitude. It derived its inspiration from Antiquity where it existed in its intellectual form although, sociologically speaking, there was the great difference of a society based upon slavery, and which is not, therefore, completely comparable to the societies of the New Era in Western Europe.

Antiquity was less dynamic, which accounts, perhaps partially, for its less pronounced interest in the exact sciences. They were the force that was most crucial in the breaking down of the universalistic pattern of the Middle Ages, and it would be entirely wrong to view the cultural interests of Renaissance, Humanism and Reformation as purely intellectual. There were much stronger social forces at work for which no parallel can be found in the world of Antiquity.

Man of the New Era was seeking a balance between the metaphysical pattern of the past and an overwhelming desire to learn the secrets of a reality which was no longer seen as hostile, but more as a setting that could be shaped by Man according to certain laws. In this widest sense, it was Man himself who was trying to develop according to a wider pattern that involved a reorientation in regard to nature as well as to his fellow-beings. It meant the development of all his capacities and talents with a better control over life as the ultimate goal.

Out of these capacities, it was the intellect which seemed to offer the greatest possibilities. It was Reason that enabled Man to understand the workings of nature; it was Reason which ruled the universe, and its secrets could be unraveled by Man if he developed his own intellect to its utmost capacity. The more direct approach of Art was supposed to serve the same goal, but perhaps in a somewhat more individualistic manner and not directly transferable to the more immediate interests of the social group as a whole.

It has been said that the turning towards reality involves the change from a more introvert to a more extrovert attitude. The emotions of Man were spreading over a wider range, although they might have lost in intensity. The outward use of psychic energy may involve a decrease in tension so that the underlying anxiety was no longer so readily translated into a more static metaphysical pattern.

Thus, while devotional reading is more the result

of direct emotional uncertainty, culture-reading presupposes that a certain mental structure has already been developed. There are definite categories of interest, like theology, philosophy, law, the sciences, the classics, etc. A certain channeling of energy has taken place, more so than in the Middle Ages, although there is ultimately a difference in degree rather than an absolute one.

The carriers of this change were the nobility, the scholar and the merchant. The literati should be added though their importance increased as the pattern of the New Era came into its full flowering. The New Era was a period of action rather than contemplation, but action within the framework of a philosophy rather than as a goal in itself. Thus, action involved not only the concentration on means-end relationships or its practical problems, but also the weighing of pro and con, the justification of expansion, of war, of the relation between ruler and subject.

The climate of the period was a moral one but new events constantly raised new moral problems so that the more definite morality of the Middle Ages was replaced by different system of morality, of which the advantages were considered and reconsidered at great length. This whole multiformity penetrated all realms of life: a book on discoveries and exploration will first consider them from the viewpoint of religion and philosophy and will interject many of its doubts into its factual descriptions. Law gives a large place to philosophy of law; even the exact sciences are seen not only in their implications for human life but as part of a universe that possesses a certain moral order.

Compared to our own age, the New Era is full of color: it knows elation and despair, gaiety and sadness, success and failure, and, above all, it is full of an ardor for life. It has more dimensions than our present world although the depth of medieval devotion and the extremes of its emotional dichotomy gradually diminished. Man of this period was maturing, but not mature.

As social growth is not an evenly divided process, the greater complexity of this society led to a more pronounced class-structure that involved considerable social distance, more so than the simpler society of the Middle Ages. Thus, ethical and political problems come to the fore although they are considered through the spectacles of religion and philosophy and show a far greater range than our modern world of which the ethical and political problems have become few, at least from the intellectual point of view.

The wider intellectual range of the New Era often met with the hostility of the forces of the past which resented the decreasing role of theology. The transition from the medieval library to the library of Renaissance and Reformation is clearly visible: it meant an extension in size, stimulated strongly by the invention of printing, as well as in range. It also meant an institutional change from the convent and church library to the libraries of princes and nobles, to municipal and university libraries. It equally meant a shift in the readers in regard to their social status: it was no longer solely the priesthood and the religious orders, but the nobility and the rising middle classes which provided the readers while the third estate remained firmly excluded, with a few exceptions among the artisans. This widening circle can be traced fairly accurately, and it is no more than a logical result that it involved an increase in book-production, an increase in the number and size of libraries, an increase in the number of readers. It would be possible to give fairly accurate percentages in specific cases, but in general it could perhaps be estimated that those who read increased from a few percent around 1500 to about 15-20 percent toward 1800.

About 1550 a library that has been called representative consisted of 163 theological, 33 philological, 19 philosophical, 7 historical and 3 legal volumes.

Luther wrote that a good library had to contain the Scriptures in at least four languages (Greek, Latin, Hebrew and German), pagan and Christian poets and

orators as a basis for grammatical studies, the arts, law, medicine, and history (chronicles and general history).²

Another library of about 1550 shows (of about 1,000 volumes) an increase in law, particularly Roman law, the Greek and Roman classics, history, humanism (Dante, Petrarca, Guicciardini, Machiavelli, Vasari, Reuchlin, Hutten); further geography, natural history, mathematics, astronomy, music and medicine, with a section on astrology and other popular occult sciences.³

It was the world of rationalism which was coming to the fore but a rationalism that was truly universal and that has preserved much of its pattern in European secondary and higher education.

As a comparison it might be recorded that a typical convent-library of the 16th century contained the following sections not directly devoted to religion, out of a total of 42:⁴

Section XVII - XII	Jus canonicum
" XXVI - XXVII	Historia sacra et profana
" XXVIII	Oeconomica
" XXXI	Jus canonicum
" XXXV - XXXVI	Medicina
" XXXVIII - XLIII	Grammatica, rhetorica, dialecta, Poetas.
" XLIV	Vocabularia
" XLV	Corpus iuris civilis. Legas nationum Germanicarum
" XLVI	Arithmetica, geometrica, astronomia musica.

Later in the New Era the change becomes more clearly visible. The percentages of book-production in Germany, in 1740, 1770 and 1800 give the following picture:⁵

	1740	1770	1800
A Theology	38.54	A 27.47	F 21.45
B Law	12.85	F 16.43	A 13.55
C History, Geography	11.38	C 9.615	C 10.50
D Medicine	6.62	D 7.95	D 8.135
E Philosophy	5.83	K 6.206	N 8.06
F Arts and Sciences	5.83	B 5.33	K 7.12
G General erudition	5.298	N 5.24	B 5.02
H Popular moral writings	3.31	G 4.46	R 4.09
K Mathematics & natural sciences	3.31	S 3.59	H 3.97
L Classical philology	2.45	H 3.41	E 3.66
M Political science	1.34	L 3.06	M 3.62
N Agriculture-Crafts	1.06	E 2.97	L 3.04
O Practical handbooks	0.93	M 2.80	S 2.567
P Philology	0.662	R 1.75	O 2.06
R Education	0.535	O 1.40	G 1.44
S Popular periodicals	0.27	P 1.40	P 1.00

Most marked is the decrease in theology and the increase in literature while medicine and the exact sciences show a gradual growth. The growing interest in literature was partially caused by increasing social awareness, as the novel portrayed how "others" lived. The novel in this respect was a forerunner of sociology, but it presented a picture that was adjusted to the mentality of the upper classes. Nevertheless, it meant another step toward the "reality" that was pursued by the exact sciences in a different manner.

The rationalisation of the mind demanded greater diversity, while the direct emotional appeal of religious writing began to find interest among the lower classes.

This points to a sociological observation which may be of some significance: the same pattern than can be observed historically seems to repeat itself to some extent in the structure of any given society. In Western civilisation we can observe a gradual change in mental attitude: a decrease although by no means a disappearance of metaphysical interests and a growing awareness of all the shapes and forms of reality. This change may involve the gradual emergence of a more definite

mental pattern that is based on experience. As Man matures, the role of experience increases in importance in his psychic world while the greater complexity of society forces him into more rational behavior-patterns.

In any given society, the position of the individual in the social structure leads to a comparable situation. Interhuman relationships tend to occupy a higher percentage of human activity in the higher strata of society and the requirement of a certain amount of rational knowledge becomes greater. Thus the mental pattern of the individual is partially determined by his position in society: the middle and upper-middle classes tend more toward rational attitudes while imagination and belief are of greater importance in the psychic structure of those who are less constantly and thoroughly conditioned by the processes of society.

As a consequence, the same patterns of reading that we have observed historically can be applied to some extent to the various strata of society although, of course, only the similarity of some factors are given while others, as for instance, the general cultural level, are different. However, for some of our later observations it is of importance to bear in mind that any society creates different mental patterns in its different groups and that there is no justification for any simplified general approach or for the assumption that the mental needs of Man are constant or equal. Differentiation is the conclusion to which any realistic sociological approach must lead.

The writing of the New Era definitely had a purpose: it had the goal to improve Man; to give him knowledge; to develop his moral and aesthetic judgment; to widen his perception. It was not intended to provide relaxation or compensation. Reading still required an effort on the part of the reader, and we find frequent admonitions that the quality of the books which are read is more important than their quantity. The written word is supposed to have an uplifting and educational value; its purpose itself is a constant subject of reflection and investigation.

Gradually the transition towards a greater stress on achievement-knowledge takes place. In 1702 the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg wrote⁶ that a library should be a general inventory, an aid to memory, a printed archive, a reproduction of the ablest thoughts of the ablest Men, a collection of all arts and sciences, where even the most competent can still find possibilities for further improvement. It was viewed as a sort of universal encyclopaedia.

Thus, as time progressed, the quantitative aspect of knowledge began to come to the fore. As soon as the element of quantity starts to gain in importance, the balanced development of the whole personality starts to lose significance. Pure culture-reading is individualistic because it places the full development of the individual outside the interests of the group, even though it is philosophically assumed that the two coincide. From the point of view of personal development, the quantity of knowledge is of secondary importance. Only that knowledge is essential which helps the individual to the full and harmonious use of all his capacities.

But when the social structure gained in complexity, it became necessary to subordinate the interests of the individual increasingly to those of the group. As a result, the quantity of knowledge began to be regarded as more essential than its quality, or - to state it in more neutral terms - it could be said that further concretisation of knowledge was needed.

If we consider matters from the reader's point of view, several important factors are involved. There are undoubtedly direct intellectual needs - although it would not be justified to exaggerate the role which they play in the average person - that are gratified by a noble sequence of words, a logical presentation of theoretical observations or an accurate description of novel facts.

But apart from this, the need for knowledge is often a derived one which acts as a motive, even if immediate intellectual rewards are lacking, or even if

direct emotional response is absent. This is the case when the underlying motive consists of the amelioration of material or social conditions. In that case, the normal brakes which would function if reading in itself is not rewarding are absent. As a consequence, this knowledge-reading can easily result in creating excessive tensions or in emotional displeasure which is a permanent concomitant of reading as it is imposed through our educational processes, although less in modern times than in preceding periods.

In this whole process, however, there is again the trend toward a psychic equilibrium: as material or social amelioration takes place, the motive for knowledge as a means toward these ends diminishes. Consequently, the stress on knowledge is a social phenomenon which is not a constant but subject to the changes that are imposed by Man's emotional structure.

Ultimately, the whole of human society will tend toward an equilibrium in which the role of knowledge will be determined by its uses as well as by its direct emotional satisfaction.

It is this second aspect which dominates in the period of culture-reading while the derived benefits of knowledge are stressed when achievement knowledge is given priority over culture in the sense of this analysis. This implies that culture-reading prevails in more individualistic periods while collectivistic periods tend to stress the function of achievement-reading. In Western civilisation, the second developed out of the first, and Western society has frequently acted as if achievement-knowledge corresponds directly to the need-structure of the individual. This is, however, only a half-truth to which an adequate answer would be possible only if there were some yardstick that could be used to measure the degree of liberty that corresponds to the need-structure of individuals and social groups.

As far as reading is concerned, it is undoubtedly culture-reading that gives, apart from devotional reading, the greatest immediate satisfaction. This is all

the more obvious because it sets its own limits. A person who reads out of his own inclinations will develop his taste and abandon the reading of works which do not give him any emotional satisfaction. There is no strong outward-motive to continue beyond this point.

This is also evident in regard to the mastery of other languages. When Latin was the language of the learned world, an excellent knowledge of Latin was not only a social attribute but it carried the reward of deriving much pleasure from reading the classics. Later on, the same held true for French, and, from the end of the 19th century, also for English; currently other languages are coming to the fore in certain areas of the world. All these languages possess a remarkable literature to which the person who knows them well gains access.

The ideal of an erudite or cultured person is to know a language for its own sake. If achievement-knowledge dominates, language becomes a means to an end. This culminates in the propagation of an artificial language; an idea that is a horror to those who think in terms of culture rather than of the practical purposes of reading.

The question again becomes the same as in the case of devotional reading: In how far does culture-reading correspond to the human need-structure or is it purely a remnant of bygone ages and the product of a specific social structure?

If the answer were to be based on statistical evidence, it is clear that we deal again with a difference in degree rather than an absolute one. The great works of literature: poetry, drama, novels, essay, etc., and the works of the philosophers are still being printed and read daily while new ones are added to them. It could be argued that the peak of achievement of the New Era is not being reached at present. The poets and philosophers of the preceding centuries seem to have vanished, and there are few contemporaries who create comparable emotions among their publics.

This might be due to a lack of leisure or to the rhythm of modern life which concentrates most of its energy on economic activities. This has robbed life of its dramatic tension, while our more tolerant moral patterns tend to create fewer conflicts. But the artificial tempo of modern life and the absence of a natural rhythm have created new frustrations which come to the fore in modern music, in novels and films, but perhaps less in poetry, philosophy and painting.

The appreciation of these latter art forms requires an erudite public that is rapidly diminishing and will not re-appear until our social structure creates again greater individualism than is possible at present.

Let us consider what was expected of a "cultured" person in the Western World around the turn of the 19th century. He was supposed to have a sound knowledge of the Greek and Roman classics and of the literature and philosophy of the Western world. He was deemed to be informed about the state of affairs in the exact sciences and to have a well-formed political opinion. He was supposed to know at least one other Western language well and to know its literature from reading its major works in the original language. A certain amount of travel was also considered essential.

All these elements were supposed to blend into an individual philosophy and a set of manners and attitudes that betrayed knowledge of what one was supposed to do but left room for a certain individualism.

It is obvious that this form of culture requires a secure economic position which can be expected to last more than one generation. It is not opposed to social mobility, but makes it more difficult than a society which is less complex in its requirements. Secondly, the rhythm of the society must be such that it leaves room for privacy, so that not all of the individual's energy is absorbed by interhuman contacts. Thirdly, there must be direct motivation in addition to that of social prestige: in other words, some talent and an active intellect is essential.

A number of these factors will occur in all societies, but the first and second prevail much more strongly in some than in others. Thus, it is logical that, although culture-reading always occurs, it differs numerically as well as in regard to its intensity.

In regard to contemporary society, the following observations can be made:

A. The more collectivistic a society is, the less it will encourage culture-reading. Culture-reading might occur spontaneously as a compensation for too much regimentation. The same holds true for the corresponding creative activity, but to a lesser extent.

B. Technological improvement tends to diminish culture-writing and reading but, after the initial stages, the demand returns for the "integrated" person. This situation is fairly typical for present Western society which, in addition, still shows strong influences of the preceding period in which this type of culture was the dominant one.

C. A decrease in social distance has a twofold result: It diminishes the motive of status-enhancement but it fosters individualism. The interest in the activities in question may diminish in the higher social strata but increase in the intermediate and lower ones. In other words, the horizontal spread would tend to show an increase.

D. An increase in social distance would have the opposite result: There would be stronger motivation for status-enhancement, also in terms of cultural attributes, but there would be a depressive influence in the lower strata of society.

As far as the relation to the energy-structure of the individual is concerned, culture-reading would correspond to the needs of a dynamic person. It does not involve the tensions which underlie devotional reading and, as a result, it would tend to show fewer fluctuations. It tends more toward the desire to collect books

and to view them from the aesthetic viewpoint and in terms of their rarity. Beautiful bindings and the interest in rare books were stressed in the periods in which culture-reading prevailed, but the attitude toward printed materials was still a largely moralistic one.

A few examples should be given of the various points made above. As an illustration of the "ornamental" approach, a good example is furnished by the first English translation of Grotius, "De jure belli ac pacis" which appeared in London in 1654. The first page brings a portrait of Grotius, with the inscription "Hora ruit," while underneath one reads as follows:

"See you not Learning in his Lookes ?
See it more lively in his Bookes. "

The dedication by the translator follows:

"To the English Gentry, with all due honour to their wisdom and valour, this work is humbly dedicated by their servant the translator."

The translator has, however, more to say to the reader:

"That This Book may obtain General Acceptances. I have somewhat to say to every sort of Readers. The Divine shall here behold the Evangelical Law shining above all other in the perfect Glory of Charity and Meekness. The Gentlemen of our Noble Innes of Court shall here read the most Common Law, that of Nature and Nations. The Civilian may here observe some footsteps of the Goodly Body of this Law. (To the Statesman and the Soldier 'twil be enough to see the Title, Of War and Peace.) The Philosopher, the Poet, the Orator and Historian, shall here meet with the choicest Flowers gathered out of their spacious Gardens by a most skilful hand, the hand of Him that was excellent in all these Kinds of good Learning, the Incomparable Hugo Grotius."

Grotius himself was not less flowery in the language of his dedication:

"This Book, Most Eminent of Kings, is bold to bear Your Royal Name in the Front, in Confidence not of It self, not of the Author, but of the Argument. Because it is written for Justice. Which Vertue is so properly Yours, that, by your own Merits, and by the Suffrage of Mankind, You have thence received a Title most worthy of so Great a King: being known every where now, no less by the Name of Just, than of Ludovic. The Roman Commanders esteemed the Titles very specious, which were derived from Crete, Numidia, Afric, Asia, and the conquer'd Nations: How much more Illustrious is Yours, whereby you are declared both the Enemy everywhere, and all ways the Conqueror (of no people, of no man, but) of that which is Unjust? The Egyptian Kings thought it a great matter, if One were called the Lover of his Father, Another of his Mother, a Third of his Brother: How small parts are These of Your Name, which comprehendeth not only those things, but whatsoever can be imagined fair and honorable? You are Just, when, by Imitation of Him, you honour the Memory of your Father, a King Great, above all that can be said Just, when you instruct your Brother every way, but no more than by your example; Just, when you revive the Laws almost buried, and, as much as you can, oppose yourself against the declining Age-

-----.

For, as the Heavenly Stars do not only communicate their Influence to the greater parts of the world, but vouchsafe it to every living Creature; So you being the most beneficent Star on earth, not content to raise up Princes, to ease people, have been pleased to be a safeguard and a Comfort, even to me, ill used in my own Country. Here is to be added, to fill up the Orb of Justice, after your publick Actions, the Innocency and Purity of Your private life, worthy to be admir'd, not by Men alone, but by the Angels too. For, how Few of the Inferior sort, yea of those that have secluded themselves from the Fellowship of the world, keep themselves so untoucht by all faluts, as You, being placed in such a Fortune, which is surrounded with innumerable allurements to sin? And how Admirable a Thing is This among Business, in this Throng, in the Court,

among so many Examples of Those that sin so many ways, to attain unto that, which solitude scarce, yet often not at all, affordeth others? This is indeed, to merit, even in this life, not only the name of Just, but of Saint -----."

Writing of this type differs in quite a few ways from that of our own period. In the first place, one is struck by the much slower rhythm: the author has time and he imputes this same quality to his reader. In the second place, the writing is more ornate, more individualistic and much less technical or standardized.

It expresses much greater warmth. The author delights in his own ideas and he hopes that he can convey his enthusiasm to his audience. He pleads with the reader as if he were in his presence. This is a vast difference with modern prefaces which mostly ignore the reader or devote a few unfriendly sentences to him as if he hardly belonged to the human species.

This much greater directness and this more human quality is also evident in the dedication when the King is addressed as a human being. He is praised because he does not sin, though he would have ample opportunity. This is quite touching, and one cannot imagine modern leaders being addressed in any such direct and brotherly fashion. Our leaders may have been characterised as "Big Brothers," but this attribute has hardly penetrated into the communications which we direct to them.

The salient difference is that, in this type of writing, the whole personality expresses himself; undoubtedly in a specific terminology but this terminology is used to express sentiments and ideas even to the point of utilizing capitalisation in order to convey what is considered most essential. Compared to this, contemporary writing only utilizes a part of the mind which is strictly de-individualized, with the exception, of course, of fiction which furnishes a compensation. But in modern non-fiction, it is generally not clear why the author wanted to write the book in question while the classical writer never leaves us in doubt for a single

second. He wants to acquaint the reader with the results of his reflections and ponderings and he hopes that his mind is sufficiently brilliant to warrant attention. It is a person-to-person relationship, but not that of a producer who brings his commodity on the market in a standardized version, trusting that it will reach as many consumers as possible; he has no clear idea of his readers and often he conveys the impression that he could not care less. Of course, achievement-writing does not aim at direct emotional satisfaction but why it should not do that also is a point that may deserve some consideration.

As the classical type of writing has a more visible contact with the writer's person, it tends to be less fatiguing to the reader. The reader does not have to adjust himself to a formal style which causes a certain resistance and irritation. On the other hand, it is obvious that classical reading is more time-consuming: it is not possible to scan a book of this type and to classify it as "having been read" in a few hours. This is only possible with books the contents of which can be immediately placed in the cubicles which the trained reader has created in his mind. The greater individualism of classical writing makes this impossible, but it has the advantage that the reader must adjust himself more to the rhythm of the writer. The scanning of many books in a short time causes mental tensions because this process can never correspond to the reader's emotional requirements.

The authors of the New Era were greatly concerned about the impact of writing on the morality of the reader. Pope in his translation of Homer's *Odyssey*, furnishes some convincing examples:

"Then virtue was no more; her guard away,
She fell, to lust a voluntary prey.
Ev'n to the temple stalk'd th'adulterous spouse,
With impious thanks, and mockery of vows,
With images, with garments and with gold;
And od'ious fumes from loaded altars roll'd"

To this passage, Pope⁷ adds the following footnote:

"There is a fine moral couched in the story of the Bard and Clytemnestra; it admirably paints the advantage we draw from wise companions for the improvement of our virtues; Clytemnestra was chaste, because her instructor was wise: his wisdom was an insuperable guard to her modesty. It was long before she yielded; virtue and honour had a long contest; but she no sooner yielded to adultery, but she assisted in the murder of her husband; from whence we may draw another moral, that one vice betrays us into another: and when once the fences of honour are thrown down, we become a prey to every passion."

However, also the reverse side of the medal should be presented: virtue is seen as the prerogative of certain classes.

"Atrides' pilot, Phrontes, then expir'd;
(Phrontes, of all the sons of men admir'd
To steer the bounding bark with steady toil
When the storm thickens, and the billows boil."

Pope comments as follows:

"Dacier (a French commentator on Homer of the same period) complains that some criticks think Homer worthy of blame for enlarging upon so mean a person as a pilot. It is a sufficient answer to observe, that arts were in high esteem in those times, and men that were eminent in them were in great honour. Neither were arts then confined as in these ages to mean personages: no less a person than Ulysses builds a vessel in the sequel of the Odyssey; so that this is a false piece of delicacy."

The same fine sensitivity prevails also in a note which Pope makes in reference to Homer's description of a feast:

"There is nothing that has drawn more ridicule upon Homer, than the frequent descriptions of his en-

tertainments: it has been judged, that he was more than ordinarily delighted with them, since he omits no opportunity to describe them; nay his temperance has not been unsuspected, according to that verse of Horace:

"Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus."

But we must not condemn without stronger evidence: a man may commend a sumptuous entertainment, or good wines, without being either a drunkard or a glutton.--

Dacier is in great pain about the cold victuals⁸; she is afraid lest the Reader should think them the leavings of a former day; and tells us they might possibly be in the nature of our cold Tongues, Jambons, etc. But I think such fears to be groundless: We must have reference to the customs of those early ages; and if it was customary for cold meats to be served up (neither is it necessary to suppose them the leavings of the former entertainment) it can be no disgrace to the hospitality of Telemachus."

There is hardly any need to mention that modern writers or translators do not know those delicate concerns about the mental processes which their writing might set off in the reader.

It is also an indication of greater balance that it is realized that reading must be followed by periods of quiet meditation, during which the mind can absorb what was really valuable in the works to which it exposed itself. Oskar Thyregod⁹, in his "Die Kulturfunktion der Bibliothek" relates an amusing incidence of this:

In the first German study-guide, published about the middle of the 18th century, it is written that libraries should not be open all day, because fresh air is occasionally quite essential:

"Ich empfinde fast ein Grauen,
dass ich, Plato, hie bey dir
bin gesessen für und für;
es ist Zeit hinaus zu schauen
und sich bey den Kühlen Quellen
Auf den Wiesen zu ergehn,
Wo die schönen Blumen stehen,¹⁰
und die Fischer Netze stellen."

Toward the end of the New Era, the accent began to fall more heavily on a less personal and more rationalized approach. Nevertheless, the author still sees his reader as a definite personality:

"Perpetual Peace."¹¹

"Whether this satirical inscription on a Dutch inn-keeper's sign, upon which a church-yard was painted, has for its object mankind in general, or in particular the governors of states, who are insatiable of war; or whether it points merely towards those philosophers who indulge the sweet dream of a perpetual peace, it is impossible to decide. Be this as it may, the author of this essay publishes it on the following conditions.

The practical politician is accustomed to testify as much disdain towards the theorist as he has complaisance for himself. In his eyes the latter appears a mere pedant, whose chimerical ideas can never be prejudicial to a state, which requires principles deduced from experience; a trifler, whom he suffers to play his game without taking measures against him. The application is easy: let the statesman condescend to be rational, and if, perchance, he discovers in this essay ideas opposite to his own, let him not imagine dangers to the state, from opinions hazarded without ambition, and published with freedom; by which "clausula salvatoria" the author expects to have secured himself from every malignant interpretation."

It would be tempting to continue these observations on the relation between writer and reader, but it is not possible to give more than a few examples. The entire

field contains many interesting sociological possibilities of which few have been utilized. For the purpose of this study, however, it is not feasible to devote too much space to this topic of which only some of the most general aspects can be considered.

Notes

- 1 Cp. p. 62 in: Kramm (Heinrich), Deutsche Bibliotheken unter dem Einfluss von Humanismus und Reformation. Leipzig, Harrossowitz, 1938.
- 2 Cp. Kramm, o.c. p. 71.
- 3 O.c. p. 110
- 4 Cp. p. 39 and 40 in: Christ (Karl), Die Bibliothek des Klosters Fulda im 16. Jahrhundert. Leipzig, Harrossowitz, 1938.
- 5 Cp. p. 80 in Oskar Thyregod, o.c.
- 6 As quoted by Thyregod, o.c. p. 36.
- 7 Cp. Alexander Pope. The Odyssey of Homer. London, Charles Rivington, 1760.
- 8 This refers to Homer's lines: "Viands of various kinds allure the taste, of choicest sort and savour, rich repast."
- 9 p. 40, o.c.
- 10 Freely translated, these lines run as follows:
 'Tt almost gives me shame,
 The hours and hours I spent
 With you, my Plato, without end.
 Open spaces be my aim:
 I'd rather walk, near a brook,
 On green meadows and just look
 How the pretty flowers grow,
 And the hunters span their bow.
- 11 Cp. Emanuel Kant, Project for a perpetual peace. Translated from the German. London, 1796.

Chapter V

Achievement- And Compensatory Reading

Achievement- and compensatory reading are the activities which have come most strongly to the fore in our "Brave New World." The usefulness and importance of achievement-reading is an article of faith of modern society, but it is nevertheless interesting to attempt to place it within its historical perspective.

It is the outcome of the development of the natural sciences and the higher standard of living economy to which the modern world devotes itself almost unequivocally. This development is supposed to depend on "knowledge," and to this end education, training, etc. have become of crucial importance.

The goals of progress and prosperity are generally seen, as they emerged from the philosophy of Western civilisation, linked to a set of political principles which proclaimed the freedom and equality of the individual. Out of these principles arose the claim for general education and the diffusion of knowledge and, although education and knowledge have certainly not become "equal," they have spread over much larger groups than ever before in the history of mankind.

It is also one of our articles of faith that this trend must continue and that education and knowledge will diffuse across the globe, as they have spread across the Western World in the past eighty or ninety years.

In this respect, the optimistic undertone of the philosophy of Adam Smith still prevails, although the

reality of social growth has given mankind some crude shocks. The basic philosophy is one of appealing simplicity: if we can achieve an efficient global division of labor, there will be happiness and prosperity for all, because there are enough resources and there is sufficient technical knowledge to reach this goal, which is equally attractive to all Men. This goal is so simple and so convincing that the only thing mankind has not agreed upon on the methods by which this ideal is to be translated into reality.

The reality of global society of our present time is of quite different texture. It consists of two super-states, around which the majority of the other nations have grouped themselves. There are a few which maintain a fairly high degree of independence, but the threads of global society reach into almost every corner and nook of this world.

Both of the superstates believe in high standard of living, and they attempt - or give an imitation of attempting - to aid other countries to reach a comparable condition. If this trend were to continue, the two blocs might reach a comparable standard of living while other nations, alone or in regional groups, would reach an income that might be satisfactory in order to meet the requirements of their populations. Thus, it would seem at first sight that an equilibrium might emerge by itself and gradually become habitual.

If global society continues to be based on competition, the decrease in social distance cannot be achieved as techno-economic development tends to be cumulative.

In regard to our problem, the conclusions of this would be twofold: If the world continues in a state of competition rather than of cooperation, the standard of living in many parts of the world may increase. In that case, the motivation for improvement would diminish and progress might come to a stop when basic consumption-needs have been met.

In the other case, if equilibrium develops the

decrease in anxiety would lead to a decrease in the power-motive, so that the whole of global society might show a more evenly distributed pattern of wealth, but without the peaks of techno-economic development which exist at present.

If we apply this to the topic of our analysis, it is the ideal that the rate of literacy, of book-production, of reading, of libraries, etc. will reach in global society the level of the most-advanced countries of the world.

With this ideal there is no quarrel. All men and women of good will share it. But the question of the most probable development in reality is quite different, and much misery has been brought to our world in the past by ideals which were too far removed from reality and which caused more frustration than happiness. Therefore, it may be of importance to attempt an analysis of the possibilities and to give some observations on the psycho-sociological problems which are involved.

For our purpose, it is very important to state that achievement-reading corresponds to a derived rather than a direct need. We go to school, we study at universities and we read books which impart knowledge, more because we want to improve or maintain our status in life than because it corresponds to any direct emotional need.

This has been proved by psychological studies which show that as soon as school-children become aware that their chances for upward social mobility in later life are small, their achievements in school show a decrease.

Thus, if the status-drive diminishes, there is a decrease in the interest in achievement-knowledge. On the other hand, we are educated with the belief that our whole society continues to move upward, and this belief furnishes a sort of general status-drive for whole civilisations.

This status-drive is also strengthened by the in-

creasing complexity of the division of labor in modern society, even to the extent that we need many compensatory mechanisms in order to accept the status-divisions of our daily work. However, the division of labor, if really applied in global society, would have its limits. Thus, ultimately there is no foundation for the belief that the status-drive, and correspondingly, the desire for knowledge will move in a constantly ascending line.

As was pointed out above, unless this trend is offset by other factors such as population increases, a more lasting equilibrium in global society would probably show a more even spread of knowledge, but with a possible reduction of its peaks. In addition the factors like climate, social structure, religion, customs, etc. influence the need-structure of social groups. As a result, the ultimate changes may be less than is often anticipated.

A very good picture of the present state of publishing, book distribution and reading is given in the UNESCO-publication "Books for all" by R. E. Barker, which appeared in 1956. On page 18-20, it gives the following table of world book-production, subdivided into the ten main classes of the Universal Decimal Classification (UDC). These 10 main categories are the following:

- 0 General Works
- 1 Philosophy and Psychology
- 2 Religion
- 3 Social Sciences
- 4 Philology
- 5 Pure Science
- 6 Useful Acts and Applied Sciences
- 7 Fine Arts and Recreation
- 8 Literature
- 9 History and Geography

Book production in 60 countries

Country of Publication	Yr.	No. of titles	% by subject in UDC categories											
			Tot.	1st Ed.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Albania	49	134	...	..	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Argentina	52	4 257	...	-	3	-	5	-	-	8	6	76	2	
	53	4 610	...	1	2	4	8	-	2	6	5	52	10	
	54	3 183	...	1	2	3	10	-	2	7	6	45	16	
Australia	52	627	557	1	2	5	23	6	5	9	10	27	12	
	53	516	420	3	-	6	21	3	4	14	7	24	18	
	54	538	411	2	1	4	26	2	5	14	7	20	19	
Austria	52	3 903	3 486	4	2	3	15	..	8	14	23	22	9	
	53	4 938	4 533	5	2	3	14	..	6	10	37	16	7	
	54	2 635	2 793	3	2	4	24	4	8	9	24	13	9	
Belgium	52	...	4 610	8	3	6	17	4	6	15	9	24	8	
	53	...	4 519	10	2	6	15	3	6	18	7	25	8	
	54	...	3 628	11	2	8	18	4	4	13	7	26	7	
Brazil	52	3 208	...		11	-	32	-	3	4	1	27	2	
	53	3 000	1 450	6	4	17	18	6	3	8	3	23	12	
	54	3 390	2 120	8	4	13	14	5	3	5	3	34	11	
Bulgaria	51	2 087	...	3	1	1	44	2	5	23	4	14	3	
	52	2 031	...	2	1	-	51	2	3	19	3	16	3	
	53	3 259	...	3	1	-	40	1	4	30	7	12	2	
Cambodia	53	392	...	46	-	25	-	-	2	-	-	25	-	
	54	249	...	60	-	16	-	1	2	-	-	18	1	
Canada	52	684	415	2	1	11	32	1	2	6	4	27	14	
	53	816	354	1	3	12	31	1	1	6	6	23	16	
	54	861	321	1	1	11	28	1	2	7	7	23	19	
Ceylon	52	268	184	-	1	18	17	1	1	1	-	16	11	
	53	498	295	27	-	16	28	4	2	5	1	12	5	
	54	637	394	19	-	16	32	1	2	1	1	23	5	
China (Cont)	50	7 049	...	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
"(Formosa)	53	...	615	3	2	-	25	14	6	8	7	14	21	
	54	...	1 339	6	2	1	32	11	6	8	5	11	18	
Cuba	53	615	460	82	3	2	-	-	2	11	-	-	-	
	54	494	333	44	2	2	-	-	-	23	4	15	10	
Czecho-slovakia	50	4 429	...	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	51	5 459	...	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Denmark	51	2 285	1 713	8	2	5	11	6	7	12	4	27	18	
	52	2 186	1 746	7	1	5	10	4	5	15	5	30	18	
	53	2 309	1 721	6	2	5	10	5	6	14	5	28	19	

Country of Publication	Yr.	No. of titles		% by subject in UDC categories												
		19-	Tot.	1st Ed.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
Dom. Rep.	49	115	...	3	2	2	19	1	4	10	10	33	16			
Egypt	53	654	562	1	5	11	29	5	5	7	1	19	17			
	54	697	594	2	5	12	29	4	4	4	1	22	17			
Finland	52	1 748	...	2	2	6	22	2	3	16	5	29	13			
	53	2 134	1 599	3	1	6	16	3	3	19	3	31	15			
	54	2 046	1 576	3	1	7	16	2	6	19	4	31	11			
France	52	10 410	...	1	6	7	10	*	9	19	5	31	12			
	53	10 017	...	1	5	7	10	*	9	20	4	32	12			
	54	10 662	...	1	4	7	8	*	8	22	5	34	11			
German Dem. Rep.	53	4 310	...	2	1	4	16	4	9	31	5	21	7			
	54	5 410	...	2	1	4	16	3	8	27	7	23	9			
German Fed. Rep.	52	13 913	10 536	4	2	8	25	2	5	15	4	26	9			
	53	15 738	12 096	3	2	7	21	2	6	14	5	27	13			
	54	16 240	12 264	3	2	6	23	2	6	14	5	27	12			
Greece	53	1 474	1 448	2	1	3	1	1	1	3	1	80	7			
	54	2 476	2 380	2	4	1	1	1	2	4	2	72	10			
Guatemala	53	...	70	11	-	1	7	7	-	7	6	36	14			
	54	...	39	21	-	3	5	-	3	8	5	31	23			
Hungary	53	3 071	...	1	-	1	41	2	4	33	3	14	1			
	54	2 750	...	2	-	-	41	1	4	26	5	19	2			
Honduras	53	70	...	36	6	7	13	3	3	4	11	6	11			
	54	51	...	25	6	6	14	-	-	4	12	10	23			
Iceland	53	225	...	1	2	4	14	4	4	8	2	42	19			
India	50	17 400	...	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Indonesia	52	778	...	2	2	7	57	2	3	10	3	13	1			
	53	1 886	...	1	2	12	50	11	4	8	2	8	2			
	54	1 152	890	1	3	12	31	12	12	7	6	7	9			
Iran	54	891	...	2	6	3	16	3	3	7	1	52	7			
Iraq	53	...	248	24	2	10	9	-	-	5	-	9	14			
	54	...	166	20	4	11	7	1	-	3	-	30	15			
Ireland(Rep.)	52	149	...	-	2	25	16	1	2	3	1	33	17			
	53	170	...	1	3	25	11	2	3	2	4	34	15			
	54	193	...	1	3	24	11	1	1	3	2	38	16			
Italy	52	9 679	...	3	5	5	22	5	3	11	11	26	9			
	53	8 972	...	3	4	4	22	5	4	13	10	28	7			
	54	8 514	...	4	5	5	20	5	3	15	7	27	9			
Israel	49-50	822	...	4	9	6	13	2	1	1	11	35	18			

Country of Publication	Yr.	No. of titles		% by subject in UDC categories											
				19- Tot.	1st. Ed.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Japan	52	17 306	12 950	2	3	2	24	6	7	16	12	22	6		
	53	20 293	13 821	2	2	3	20	5	6	16	9	21	6		
	54	19 837	...	1	4	.	12	3	7	11	5	24	4		
Lebanon	49-50	396	...	4	-	5	9	9	9	9	4	24	27		
Luxembourg	52	420	...	10	2	4	26	-	-	8	20	10	20		
	53	389	...	13	2	4	26	-	-	11	19	8	17		
	54	323	...	14	2	7	26	-	-	8	17	10	16		
Monaco	52	104	88	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	11	65	19		
	53	167	145	-	1	2	1	1	-	1	7	59	28		
	54	176	162	-	1	1	1	-	-	7	3	70	17		
Morocco	52	100	95	3	-	1	25	8	10	12	1	18	13		
	53	109	97	18	-	3	18	-	5	5	7	13	26		
	54	125	123	16	-	2	24	-	8	20	6	5	20		
Netherlands	52	6 728	...	2	3	7	13	.	11	8	5	43	8		
	53	7 045	4 301	4	4	6	17	*	8	8	8	38	7		
	54	7 019	4 082	3	4	7	15	*	9	8	7	39	8		
New Zealand	52	327	...	3	-	8	23	1	5	19	7	9	25		
	53	360	...	2	1	6	30	1	9	24	4	7	16		
Nicaragua	47	122	...	6	10	8	16	-	2	6	2	29	21		
Norway	50	2 761	...	2	1	6	22	2	5	13	5	31	13		
	51	2 773	...	2	1	5	24	2	5	18	5	27	11		
	52	2 704	...	2	1	9	23	2	5	15	5	28	10		
Panama	50	34	31	-	-	-	42	3	3	3	9	20	20		
	51	15	14	-	-	-	64	-	-	-	-	21	15		
	52	22	20	-	5	-	60	5	5	-	-	10	15		
Peru	49	849	...	5	1	4	43	-	8	6	13	7	13		
	50	772	...	5	-	3	43	1	2	10	9	7	20		
Philippines	53	...	195	8	3	4	37	2	7	6	-	22	10		
	54	...	153	5	3	5	20	5	6	10	-	37	7		
Poland	52	6 632	...	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	53	6 584	...	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	54	6 654	...	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Portugal	52	...	4 153	4	1	5	17	1	7	13	5	7	11		
	53	...	5 348	4	1	3	14	1	6	18	4	6	11		
	54	1 786	1 500	3	1	5	15	2	9	31	8	14	12		
Rumania	45	2 700	...	3	2	6	23	5	8	19	3	19	12		
Spain	52	3 445	...	6	2	6	11	1	2	10	7	15	10		
	53	5 664	4 235	-	2	6	8	1	3	7	6	50	10		
	54	1 672	4 242	7	2	6	12	1	3	8	6	46	9		

Country of Publication	Yr.	No. of titles	% by subject in UDC categories										
			19- Tot.	1st. Ed.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Sweden	52	3 286	...	3	2	5	12	5	6	14	6	36	11
	53	3 921	3 192	4	2	6	10	3	8	17	6	29	15
	54	4 459	3 666	3	1	6	9	3	15	15	5	29	14
Switzerland	52	3 245	...	1	5	9	15	3	4	12	13	23	13
	53	3 591	...	1	5	10	13	3	3	11	13	25	13
	54	3 675	...	1	5	9	13	3	3	12	12	26	12
Thailand	54	4 444	...	54	5	5	5	1	3	2	1	21	3
	52	3 953	...	65	2	7	3	2	1	2	1	14	3
Turkey	50	2 150	...	8	1	3	33	3	5	18	4	16	9
	51	1 958	...	5	1	4	28	3	6	22	3	18	10
	52	2 447	...	6	1	3	36	3	3	22	3	17	6
Tunisia	53	...	56	25	-	11	7	-	2	9	2	16	21
	54	...	90	29	-	7	7	-	10	4	4	19	8
Union of S. Africa	50	1 247	...	1	2	13	12	8	7	16	3	27	11
	51	873	...	1	1	7	5	12	10	14	4	34	12
	52	834	...	1	1	9	23	8	6	7	5	25	15
U.S.S.R.	52	37 500	...	1	1	2	39	*	10	13	4	27	7
United Kingdom	52	18 741	13 343	4	2	6	19	-	5	15	6	33	10
	53	18 257	12 734	1	2	6	13	3	6	14	6	38	11
	54	19 188	13 342	-	2	6	14	4	6	13	6	38	11
U.S.A.	52	11 840	9 399	4	3	8	10	1	5	13	5	36	15
	53	12 050	9 724	4	3	8	9	1	5	12	5	38	15
	54	11 901	9 690	4	3	8	9	1	5	12	6	37	15

It will be seen from this table that only a few countries publish more than 10,000 titles a year, namely France, Western Germany, India, Japan, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom. Between 4 and 10,000 we find Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Italy, the Netherlands and Poland.

Three-quarters of the total of 240,000 titles annually come from 10 countries: U.S.A., the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, France, German Federal Republic, Italy, the U.S.S.R., China (Continental) and India. Of these, Western-Europe furnishes about one third of the total for the ten countries.

Literature, including fiction, is the largest subject-group in about 60% of the countries in question, while in the U.S.S.R. the social sciences form the largest single group.

Table 3 of this publication gives a picture of the book production per million of population:¹

Table 3. Book Production per million of population

Country	Total Book Prod. (Titles) ²	Population (millions)	Book prod. per mill. pop.
Argentina	4 257	18	237
Austria	3 903	7	558
Belgium	4 610	9	512
Brazil	3 208	56	57
China (Cont.) (1950)	7 049	464	15
Czechoslovakia (1951)	5 459	12	455
France	10 410	43	242
German Fed. Rep.	13 913	48	390
Hungary (1953)	3 071	9	341
India (1950)	17 400	367	47
Italy	9 679	47	206
Japan	17 306	87	199
Netherlands	6 728	10	673
Poland	6 632	25	265
Portugal	4 153	9	461
Spain	3 445	29	119
Sweden	3 286	7	469
Switzerland	3 245	5	649
Thailand	3 953	20	198
U.S.S.R.	37 500	200	188
United Kingdom	18 741	50	375
U.S.A.	11 840	160	74
Yugoslavia	5 184	17	305

1. Information is for 1952; only countries producing more than 3, 000 titles are included.
2. See Table 2.
3. United Nations, Statistical Yearbook 1953, New York, (to nearest million).

It shows the small countries like the Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria and Belgium first while the percentages for the large countries like U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and India are much smaller. However, in order to complete this picture, it is necessary to give book-production by number of copies:

Table 5. Book production by number of copies in certain countries

Country	Titles	Copies Millions
Australia	627	3
Bulgaria	2 087	18
Belgium	4 610	26
Brazil	3 206	28
Canada	684	4
Denmark (1949)	3 164	8
Finland	1 748	21
France	10 410	100
German Federal Republic	13 913	108
Netherlands	6 728	31
New Zealand	327	2
Norway	2 704	11
Portugal	4 153	17
Spain	3 445	16
Sweden	3 286	20
Switzerland	3 245	12
U.S.S.R.	37 500	650
United Kingdom	18 741	286
U.S.A.	11 840	164
Yugoslavia (1953)	4 465	21

Sources. Table 6 and published national figures (1952).

1. The total number of copies given in Buch und Buchhändler (see Table 6. Note 4) is 106.7 million. If the calculation for 1951 is made on the same basis as that for 1952 in the present table, the result is 112.8 million, a difference of about 5 per cent.
2. Average of five years taken from Novy Mir (op. cit.).

This Table shows that the total number of volumes published annually approaches five billion or less than two books per person. It must be realized, however, that half of all the books published are schoolbooks, and that a large part of the remainder goes to public and institutional libraries.

On per capita consumption few statistics are available. "Books for all" cites a publication by Milton Gilbert, of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation. "Real consumption per head in the U.S.A., France, German Federal Republic and Italy, as a percentage of United Kingdom consumption (quantity weighted by U.S. prices): books, newspapers, magazines: U.K. 100; U.S.A. 149; France 76; German Federal Republic 46; Italy 15.

According to a French periodical the average yearly per capita expenditure (in French francs) on reading matter between 1945 and 1953 was as follows in the countries indicated: U.S.A. 2,500; U.K. 1,000; Belgium 250; German Federal Republic 80; France 50; Spain 45; Italy 40.

It should be noted, however, that there are marked differences in publishing costs in the countries mentioned, as well as in statistical definitions and procedures for recording the consumption of printed materials."

From these statistical tables a number of interesting conclusions can be drawn. The publishing of books is strongly concentrated in ten countries which account for about half of the population of the world. In terms of language-blocs the distribution is as follows: English 21.8% of book-production (by titles); Russian 16.9%; German 15.4%; Japanese 11.7%, French 9.8%; Spanish 7.5%; Italian 6.7%; Portuguese 5.4%. In other words, the Western languages account for about 66% of the total titles, published in the above-mentioned languages which amount to 147,857 titles out of a world-total in all languages of 240,000. Of the difference of less than 100,000 titles, the Western languages again account for an important percentage.

The statistics give no indication of the trend of development in the "new" countries. Book exports and imports are mostly between the more highly developed countries, while there is little movement towards the economically less developed countries where books may be urgently needed. At present the world booktrade largely follows traditional channels.¹

The value of the major book-exports is as follows:

United Kingdom	\$ 40,686,000
U.S.A.	\$ 40,114,000
France	\$ 21,495,000
Netherlands	\$ 16,600,000
German Federal Republic	\$ 15,218,000
Spain	\$ 6,926,000
Switzerland	\$ 6,367,000
Austria	\$ 4,686,000 ²

As far as the subject-categories of the various publications are concerned, the following observations can be made:

Religion rates high in the following countries: Brazil (17% of total of titles in 1953); Cambodia 25% in 1953; Canada 11%; Ceylon 16%; Dominican Republic 11%; Egypt 12%; Indonesia 12%; Iraq 11%; Ireland 24%; Switzerland 10%; Tunisia 11%; Union of South Africa 13%; Viet-Nam 14%.³

The percentage is high for a number of countries which do not occupy a generally high position in book-production. The Mohammedan countries stand out in some cases while in the Western world Ireland takes a noteworthy position. For the U.S.S.R. the percentage of titles dealing with religion is given as 2; the U.S.A. stands at 8%, the U.K. at 6%; France at 7%.

Literature, including fiction, reaches 80% in the case of Greece; 76% in Argentina; 70% in Monaco; 46% in Spain. In most Western countries the percentage is in the thirties, while it is somewhat lower in the U.S. S.R. (27%). The social sciences rank first in the

U.S.S.R. (39%), but occupy a position of importance in many countries. Pure Science occupies a lower position than one might expect while History and Geography rank high in many countries.

In the United Kingdom, one of the leading book-producing countries, Literature and History and Geography together accounted for almost half of all books published; in France the situation was comparable (45%) while the U.S. shows 52% for these two categories.

This could lead to the conclusion that in countries where book-production is attuned to the taste of the public, compensatory and culture-reading play a significant role.

To draw any conclusions in regard to reading from the number of titles and the amount of volumes published annually is difficult. One fact that is quite salient is the greater variety in reading in the smaller European countries, particularly in view of their high importation of books in other languages. In the larger countries, reading seems to be more uniform and to take place mostly in the language of the country.

If half of the books published annually consist of schoolbooks, general reading-matter consists of about one book per capita of the world-population. As 75% of publishing is concentrated in the more highly developed countries and is obviously linked to literacy, much less than half of the population of the world would fall into the category of book readers, and it would be probably closer to the truth to estimate that 20% or less could be counted as such.

This would mean that the structural aspects of the Western world of the 19th century have become extended to the world as a whole. If the goal of bringing the entire world to a higher standard of living could be even partially achieved, there would be vast increases in book-production and book-distribution.

If it is assumed that half of the world-population

is literate, this would mean that about 1,300,000 people are readers of newspapers and periodicals and about 500 million would be readers of books and, on the average, of several books annually. This corresponds more or less to the data given by the public libraries of countries like England and Sweden which show averages of 4 or 5 books borrowed per capita. For many countries, this would be lower, but, on the other hand, books are bought, received as gifts, borrowed privately, etc.

If we assume that 40% of those who can read are book-readers, we may have a fairly acceptable figure. About half of the books which are being read fall under compensatory and culture-reading, and, consequently - as this means half of the non-schoolbooks -, a considerable part of the book-production has to do with what we have called achievement-reading, namely reading to obtain knowledge, information, etc. If we then consider that the average reader is a reader of newspapers and periodicals rather than of books, we would arrive at the conclusion that this average reader is exposed to somewhere between 6 and 30 million printed words annually. This estimate is a very loose one, as the size of the newspapers and periodicals varies greatly. The average daily consumption has been put at 20,000 words, but a number of days have been deducted as the average reader will not read every day of the year, and in many cases newspapers may not appear daily.

What the result is for the human brain of this constantly being exposed to the printed word is a matter which has not been studied extensively. It is generally assumed to be for the good of the individual, and, in a very general way, this is acceptable, as the individual is not forced to read even though he may be conditioned for it. The need for reading is undoubtedly partially a created need which has become habitual, but this holds true for many of our needs. Nevertheless the whole problem deserves consideration.

It has been the argument of this analysis that various types of reading may correspond to different psychic levels, and that our quantitative approach has resulted in

the fact that we engage too much in "one-level" reading. Consequently, rather crude forms have emerged in our compensatory reading which appeal more directly to the emotions, but to the cruder, instead of the finer ones.

On the other hand, there seems to be an under-evaluation of spiritual reading and of its importance in building up a mental equilibrium. It is often assumed that the variety of general reading meets a basic need, but it is overlooked that this is variety within very narrow psychic limits and that whole parts of the human mind - and perhaps the more important ones - are left inactive.

In knowledge-writing there is also the underlying assumption that the more facts we can marshall, the better-founded our ultimate judgment will be. This may be only a partial truth, as our mind has the capacity to think in abstractions in order to cope with the multitudinous phenomena of reality. If we attempt to think in terms of reality itself, this easily results in confusion and mental fatigue because it is the abstraction which gives us the needed distance. To see things from close quarters also causes greater emotional involvement.

Consequently, the whole realm of general ideas, of moral values, of aesthetic judgment tends to be underdeveloped in the human mind and threatens to be replaced by an international hodge-podge which gives no support or structure to the mental processes of the individual. We want to photograph reality, but we forget that it is already before our eyes and that our mental needs go beyond facts and figures.

If we use the basic concepts that were developed in this analysis, it is clear that devotional and culture-reading are underdeveloped, while excessive stress is placed on achievement-knowledge and compensatory reading.

Too much value is also placed on "organisation." Devotional reading does not have to be organized: it needs a certain rhythm of life and a realization that our

material achievements change little in the basic aspects of life. The same holds true for culture-reading: culture grows and cannot be made by governments or international agencies.

For the latter, there is an important task in the field of achievement-knowledge, but direct, practical needs are often overlooked in favor of high-sounding projects about cultural integration, analysis of culture-values, etc. Too much stress is also placed on the endless accumulation of data which are no longer relevant by the time they appear in the flow of national and international governmental reports by which the world is swamped. Our period probably sets a record for the production of publications which are hardly read, and this is undoubtedly a process of waste that needs correction.

In fact, the basic question is not how much is written and how much is read, but what is written and how is it read. In this respect, the picture which modern society offers is not wholly satisfactory.

On the other hand, the variety which is offered is so large that automatic corrections will undoubtedly set in. The taste of the public is a powerful corrective mechanism, but it is undoubtedly a danger that there is an increase in the world in sponsored writing, whereby the interaction of production and taste has a smaller field of operation. This danger becomes more acute as the costs of publishing rise.

In countries where there is ideological control over writing, this factor is even stronger, although even in those cases the fact cannot be ignored that books are written in order to be read. The interaction between production and an ultimate need-structure can never be ignored, however tortuous, involved and artificial the relation between them be made. The more direct the contact between writer and reader, the more the net result of the process of interaction and the less the danger of formalized, impersonal, sterile writing that ultimately kills the desire to read.

Especially in the academic world, it would often be important to test the weight that books would receive if free choice is given. On the other hand, it is also erroneous to assume that the reader wants easy books in a generalized style.

Some of the most successful books are written in a difficult or unusual style, but their success is probably due to their being the direct expression of an interesting mind. They are not written with an eye on the reader; on the contrary, the contact between writer and reader defies concrete analysis or evaluation. A good deal of this process is a subconscious one, involving the intensity of the emotion which is behind the writing.

A book does not consist of what is actually said in it in so many words. A great part of its significance lies in the implications of its structure. If writing only establishes a link between processes in the conscious mind of the writer and those of the reader, a great deal is absent which gives reading its significance. Purely rational writing bores, because it overlooks that the ultimate motive for reading must be an emotional one. If reading were only a duty, we will reach a stage when the question will be asked "Why read at all?" To impart knowledge, there are other techniques, and it is not certain that contemporary scientific books really impart the greatest amount of knowledge with the least possible effort. In fact, the opposite seems more often to be true, particularly in the social sciences.

But much writing consists of a strange confusion of culture- and knowledge writing and, as a result, it does not correspond to either need.

However, there is not much purpose in criticising what exists unless such criticism is indicative of a more general desire for change. For the last centuries we have devoted ourselves almost exclusively to knowledge, and it is logical to expect that other mental needs will come to the fore in the future.

Reading can be an inspiration, a pleasure, a duty,

a torture, a compulsion, or an obsession. Which emotional reaction prevails, is obviously very much influenced by the type of society of which the reader forms a part. If a society increases in complexity, the duty-aspect will tend to become dominant. If a society seeks to progress in power and prosperity, the acquisition of knowledge may acquire the halo of a patriotic task, though it can often be observed that the more spectacular expressions of patriotism offer a greater attraction. But the young, at any rate, will be told that the acquisition of knowledge is a sacred duty, and they flock dutifully to the universities, rather regretful that the possession of independence is not half as interesting as its acquisition.

Reading can become a torture in periods in which the culture-load no longer corresponds to the vitality of a social group or an individual. It is connected with failure, despair, breakdown, anti-intellectualism, neo-vitality movements, etc. It obviously occurs most frequently in regard to achievement-reading although culture-fatigue certainly prevailed in some European circles after World War I.

Whether reading becomes an obsession or a compulsion is connected more with the rhythm of reading. If the speed of life is such that it acquires compulsive attributes, this quality will also prevail in activities which are part of the total life-pattern, like the reading of knowledge- and information materials although less in regard to compensatory reading. In fact the latter may be used as a means of escaping the strain, and this would be more possible if the compensatory reading can take place at a different rate of speed, as, for instance, in the case of cartoons, comic strips, illustrated magazines, etc. It is not impossible that the popularity of these kinds of materials has something to do with the fact that they are read in a different manner.

Reading as an obsession is an extreme case of compulsive reading. It may occur in a person with an extremely high absorptive power and strong motivation, as in adolescence, or in groups which have a very strong

progress-motivation, as in some circles in the U.S.S.R. immediately after the revolution.

It is, however, not a phenomenon on which the philosopher or the chronicler likes to dwell. He prefers the more balanced periods in which most human activities are accompanied by emotional plus-signs, and this is the condition that should become "sine qua non" in regard to reading, even if it would mean a reduction in the production of "scientific" books and government reports. One could imagine that mankind would survive such a calamity.

Notes

- 1 U.S. book exports to Canada are the largest in the world, followed by U.K. exports to Australia. Other important exchanges are United Kingdom exports to the U.S.A.; South Africa, Canada, New Zealand and India, in that order; U.S. exports to the Philippines and the United Kingdom; French exports to the Belgium-Luxembourg Union; Netherlands exports to Indonesia and the Belgium-Luxembourg Union; German exports to Switzerland and Swiss exports to Germany, German exports to Austria and Spanish exports to Argentina are not far behind." o.c. p. 29.
- 2 o.c. p. 26
- 3 For the years, consult the original table on page 76.

Chapter VI.

The Library In Relation To The Function of Reading

Gradually it has become evident that the function of the library is a very complex one and that it cannot be seen in any simple pattern. Apart from its major function of furnishing a collection of reading materials, it has several additional ones. The matter of "prestige" plays a role in the building up of libraries, while collecting books or other materials can become, to a certain extent, a goal in itself.

The library has frequently been described as the "collective memory" of a nation, and this has led to the conclusion that it should attempt to collect practically everything. However, a large part of this "collective memory" seems to be as much hidden in the subconscious, as is the case in the memory of the individual, and it has become a problem that the large national- and university-libraries have many materials on their shelves which are rarely or never used. Another factor which contributes to the desire for completeness, is the epistemological theory that all facts are needed for the formulation of scientific theories. This is not the place to discuss this assumption, but it deserves mention as a motive for completeness.

It could be calculated mathematically that the trend toward completeness would place an insupportable burden on the large libraries, but modern devices like the depository library, division of labor (Farmington plan), microfilms and microcards make it possible to achieve a reasonable approximation of the ideal.

However, it would be wrong, in discussing the

function of libraries, to emphasize large libraries. The majority of libraries are small. Whether the concept "library" contains a quantitative attribute is an interesting question. Is it possible for an individual to say: "My library consists of one book" or is this a misuse of the term? There is no doubt that to most people the term "library" implies a "number of books," but since there is no way of determining this number, it does not seem possible to say that a library has to consist of at least so many books in order to merit the use of the term. And what should be used to designate a collection of a few books? It seems that we must accept the term "library" as meaning any collection of books, from one to x millions, even though in general its use will imply a "fairly large" quantity of books or other materials to which without much etymological justification, the term "library" is applied like "Record" or "Periodical Library." Of course, they should be termed collections and not libraries.

Another difficulty is whether the term "library" implies active use or only potential use. If it is not meant for any use, it is more proper to speak of "book-storage" than of a library. The term "library" includes the function of making its materials accessible. Whether the users come or do not come does not enter into the question. Whether the use is actual or only potential is secondary, so long as it is theoretically possible. Again there seems to be no determinable quantitative aspect involved. One potential user suffices to meet the definition.

It has become customary to connect a value-judgment to the number of users to whom a library is accessible. No library is accessible to everybody, but as libraries and knowledge spread, it is quite obvious that the access to libraries follows what the sociologists call the "principle of widening circles." In regard to global society, this principle implies that we can reasonably expect a continued increase in accessibility and number of readers, but it also means that the ultimate limit is the average person's desire to read. It is this desire that determines the main function of the library. All

other functions like prestige, collecting for the sake of collecting, the accumulation of data, etc. must be regarded as secondary. Whether this desire to read must be stimulated by the library, or whether its role should be the more passive one of being there when needed, has been argued long and often. Particularly in regard to public libraries, it is frequently argued nowadays that the stimulation of interest is a legitimate part of the library's function. The presupposition is that reading is in the moral and economic interest of the community as a whole; thus, it is legitimate and praiseworthy to stimulate it. There is little support for the notion that reading might give people "wrong ideas," although this idea still prevails in regard to certain types of materials, particularly in countries of the "one-ideology"-type.

Reading as such receives a positive value-judgment in all major contemporary civilizations. The motivation for this is largely economic: economic amelioration depends on knowledge and reading is one of the most effective means for the acquisition of knowledge.

As it is realized that reading should be a general habit rather than a focussed one, the support for reading does not concentrate especially on any one of its aspects, but tends to foster reading in its generic form. If one reads fiction, one will also read newspapers and periodicals, as well as serious books.

It is undoubtedly true that the habit has a structure of its own which involves elements of emotional satisfaction as well as practical goals. If reading leads to a negative emotional reaction, this reaction could spread to all types of reading. Therefore, if we want to encourage reading, it seems wisest to encourage reading of all types and to assume that the reader will gradually work out the pattern that corresponds most to his individual need-pattern. Guidance is mostly limited to categories of materials and degrees of difficulty, except where there is a political or propagandistic motive of a special kind. Thus, some libraries will particularly encourage religious reading; others, materials

which propagandize definite political or civilizational patterns. It is less stressed at present that reading should foster certain civic virtues, although the appreciation of the realistic novel varies considerably.

In general, pressure creates counter pressure, and where the reading public is mature there is much to be said for the principle that libraries should be as general as possible and have as few restrictions as possible. For special categories of readers, a more selective attitude might be preferable.

Those are questions which are decided by each nation individually, and it does not seem possible to say that this or that principle is preferable. It depends on actual conditions, but the ultimate goal should undoubtedly be the greatest possible individual freedom. The person who reads tends to have at least a minimum of mental equilibrium, and it seems exaggerated to believe that reading, instead of strengthening this equilibrium, would upset it. No revolutionary book has ever been the cause of a revolution. It may have channelled it into a certain direction, but it can never be regarded as a sole cause of action. However, if a person or a social group is highly imaginative, reading might set off socially undesirable reactions, and, in these cases, certain controls are essential.

In a general way, this holds true for all publications which advocate the abandonment of social controls, but, since reading also works as a compensatory mechanism, literature of this type does fulfil a social function. Although it would be hard to prove this contention, the compensatory function apparently outweighs the danger of imitation. Actual practice of the more highly developed countries shows clearly that no strong need is felt for intensive restriction.

Art has a cathartic influence, and most mature civilizations have no interest in art that purposely points a moral. The real moral values are contained in life itself, and if art shows these values it performs a much greater service than by adhering to a formalistic pattern.

Although restrictions seem unwise, it is similarly an exaggeration to establish an international "right to read," as is sometimes advocated. There are different degrees of freedom in reading, and if one country were to exercise pressure on another in order to increase its level of freedom to read, the result would probably be the opposite of the desired one, particularly if the country in question is powerful. International public opinion can be a useful tool, especially in regard to smaller countries, but, in most cases, to set an example has a far greater value than to use anything that resembles coercion or attempts thereto.

Rights are only of value if they are concrete and can be enforced. Otherwise they are a propagandistic device that does not add to the prestige of law because it tends to confuse real rights with imagined ones or with those that are considered desirable, but have no real legal status. Law is still primarily the prerogative of the national state.

From the viewpoint of sociology, it has become increasingly clear that society must be regarded as an interrelated whole of which certain aspects can be isolated for the sake of analysis only. The need-structure of the individual is to a large extent determined by the society in which he lives. His realm of choice is a limited one. In theory, we may say that a person has the choice between reading and not-reading. In practice, there is no such choice. If the individual in question is a member of a highly developed society, his "status" in this society determines his need-structure. He may read more or less; he may read more of one type of material than of another, but he cannot do without reading. He must have a general idea of what goes on in the world; he needs certain information. Even compensatory reading is not wholly voluntary action, but is partially determined by the rhythm or social speed of the society in question.

If social life is seen in its structural attributes, it is also evident that we cannot transfer one segment of it to other societies. Whether reading will increase

in the less developed countries is a problem that can be considered only in relation to the overall change of these societies. In the same way, it cannot be assumed that reading in the developed countries can be regarded as a constant.

The rate of change of a society has a considerable influence on its reading-pattern: If this rate is high, there is considerable need for knowledge and information while the emotional tensions which are a concomitant of rapid change will engender a need for compensatory reading. If this rate should fall off in the more developed societies, it would be logical to assume changes in the pattern of reading; and even a reduction is not inconceivable. It is achievement- and compensatory reading which has caused the greatest increase in the book-production, number and size of libraries, etc., and it should not be overlooked that the greatest increase came in the relatively short period of the last 70 or 80 years.

The need for reading does not result from the fact that books, etc. are available, but goes much deeper. On the whole, urban populations read more than the rural ones, and this fact is not explainable solely by the fact that more books are available. If the demand were there, it would be met, but the demand itself is less, probably because the rate of tension is lower and the need-pattern is simpler. Similarly, the reading-habit cannot be created in less developed countries simply by teaching reading and by creating libraries. It is a matter of motivation, and the motive seems to emerge mostly in more complex societies, as is evident from the statistics which were given in the last chapter.

It is important to realize that there are two conflicting tendencies in the process of social growth: morally it leads to the desire for greater equality while, functionally, it results in a more complex division of labor. In regard to the functions which people exercise, social growth results in a greater distance, while politically, socially, etc. we strive for greater equality.

This latter tendency has resulted in the erroneous conclusion that, for instance, the need for reading is comparable in all average individuals. Since the need for reading is strongly linked to the individual's status in society and to his function, this generalisation is only partially true in regard to informative and compensatory reading. That the need for compensatory reading has increased - as is most evident in the increased circulation of magazines - is neither a particularly positive, nor a particularly negative attribute. It means an artificial lessening of tensions which first have been created by the increasing complexity of society and its high rate of change.

The amount of knowledge derived from newspaper- and magazine reading is small and could be given in a more succinct form; the rest of it works as a compensatory mechanism, but offers little in the way of artistic or intellectual stimulation, while spiritual and symbolic values, with the exception of patriotic ones, receive scant attention.

Although it would be reasonable to expect an increase in reading in a global society, due to technological progress, it would not be justifiable to assume that the development of global society would lead to equalized distribution of the need for reading. The complexity of modern technical development leads to an increase in the division of labor, but not necessarily to a reduction in tensions. Only if a more harmonious global society should emerge, would it be justified to expect a more general and equal distribution of the habit of reading. In this case, however, the cumulative effort of technoeconomic development - now partially due to the power-motive - could be expected to show a lower rate of increase.

It should not be overlooked that while the reading of newspapers and magazines is greater in the larger countries which have a greater need for compensatory reading, the reading of books occurs most in the smaller countries with a high standard of living. In these countries reading is more directly linked to the emotional

needs of the individual and occurs less as a reaction to the complexity of the society.

Some of these observations can be illustrated best by examining the development of public libraries in various countries or regions. The university or specialized library responds more directly to the need for achievement-reading, while the public library registers better the subtle interplay between reader and library. It has been more closely identified, in the past, with the possibilities of stimulating the desire to read and with the limitations which society imposes on these efforts.

Public libraries in the modern sense of the word, began to develop in the second half of the 19th century, and their creation was largely due to enthusiastic efforts of small progressive groups.

"Apart from these there was no demand for public libraries. The public did not ask for public libraries. Why should they do so? - they had no idea of what a public library could do or mean. They did not know that they needed or would use it. They did not, on the whole, even know that books had anything worth while to give them. It was only when there were public libraries that most people had any realization that they had anything to give. In other words, here is, definitely, a case when supply created demand, not when demand created supply. And the same, let us never forget, is true today in every country in the world, be it Indonesia or Italy, Pakistan or Peru."¹

Great impetus to the establishment of public libraries in England was given by the Public Libraries Act of 1852 which enabled local authorities to provide libraries for the free use of the people. Nowadays it is argued that public library provision should be compulsory and that people have a right to library services. Lionel Mc Colvin points out that only four countries have achieved near-complete coverage (Great Britain, Denmark, Norway, Sweden) and that this has been on a voluntary basis. Provision of free public library ser-

vice has become obligatory in Norway and Denmark is following suit, but the obligation only establishes minimum standards.

In England, the number of library authorities rose to 153 by 1889, and that number was doubled by the end of the century. This was due to a general advance in education and social progress but also to the enthusiasm of individuals like Thomas Greenwood, John Passmore Edwards and Andrew Carnegie, who gave aid to 380 libraries in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. The Library Association, established in 1877, also had a stimulating influence.²

At present the British public library is a thriving, modern, nation-wide service. "This service is being given by 577 separate, independent library authorities which, in the years 1954-5, expended over £ 12,810,000. In that period 386 million books were lent for home reading from no fewer than 31,249 service points, made up as follows: 577 central libraries and county headquarters; 1,191 full-time branches open at least thirty hours a week; 28,833 part-time branches, village centers, and school libraries provided by the public library service; 559 hospital libraries provided by local authorities; 89 prison libraries; 158 mobile libraries."³

The total book stock of English libraries amounted to 61,500,000 for a population of 50,600,000 people, in 1953. 30% was fiction, 16.6% children's books and 53.4% non-fiction, including reference works. The median expenditure on books per capita for the year 1954-55 was 13.8 d. Of the 577 English library systems at least 215 spent less than 4 s. per capita, over 205 less than 3 s.⁴ The national median was 4 s. 8 d.

In the United States, the statistical picture is as follows:

"There are 7,477 public libraries operating in the United States (counting a library system with branches as only one library). The 6,028 of these which submitted data in 1950 held 143 million books, an increase

of 14.6% since 1945.⁵ Of these, 23 million were books for children. The total is equivalent to 1.24 volumes per capita. Loans in the year exceeded 384 million, equivalent to 3.37 volumes per capita. Of their expenditures, totalling nearly 110 million dollars, 87.4% came from local public funds, 1.7% from state funds, and 4.8% from endowments and investments. Salaries represented 59.6% of the total, with 15.6% going for books and periodicals. The expenditure per capita was \$0.96. Of all these libraries 57.6% served population of fewer than 5,000 and 29.3% spent less than \$1000 a year."⁶

Reading of library-books in the U.S.A. per capita is about half of the number in England, but statistics easily tend to be misleading. It should be taken into account that American newspapers and magazines are much bigger than their European counterparts. Magazine- and newspaper reading in the U.S. is a partial substitute for book-reading. It is also worth recording that adult use of the American public library is restricted to about ten percent of the population.

"The small faction of the adult population who use the public library come from the informed elite. People who do not read newspapers do not go to the library. Relatively few people who do not read magazines ever go to a library. By no means all book readers are library users but nine-tenths of all library users are people who read books. The library serves that segment of the population which is most likely to have received information through other sources, and those who use the library most are also in most frequent contact with the other sources.

Library users as a group have much more formal education than people who do not use the library. They also tend to come from the higher income brackets, although education seems to be a more discriminating factor. They are younger than non-library-user adults. They are found disproportionally often in the professional and clerical occupational groups. The library's clientele is clearly not representative of the population as a whole."⁷

This seems to fit in with the observation that reading is a part of a general life-pattern and that it cannot be stimulated or considered as an isolated activity. This means that the structural attributes of society exercise considerable influence on the individual's habit-pattern. If his function in life does not make considerable demands of his intellect and if his need for compensatory activities goes in other directions, the need for reading remains undeveloped.

It is also rather striking to observe that private reading is much more developed than library-reading if this conclusion can be drawn from the fact that only a small percentage of the copies of books published are purchased by libraries. These two groups - the private readers and library readers - overlap, and there is little evidence that library-reading takes the place of private reading although the relationship must have changed in favor of the library. As books become more expensive, we may expect this trend to continue in the immediate future.

In the Scandinavian countries, the public library systems have reached the peak of development. This is sociologically interesting because it indicates that a fairly high standard of living, combined with a not overly competitive or complex social system, tends to act as a stimulus for book-reading. In smaller countries, the New-Era goal of general erudition has retained some of its force; in addition, Scandinavia has a strong literary tradition, and the pace of life is not excessive.

In Denmark distances are small, which has made it easier to give good public library service throughout the country. The same has been achieved in Sweden, however, where there are many sparsely settled districts. It might also be of importance that social legislation is highly developed in the Scandinavian countries. This has resulted in a sense of security, and class differences are small, particularly in Norway. The general democratic atmosphere has encouraged the development of individual tastes and inclinations, and this has worked in favor of book-reading.

As was said before, book-reading seems to prosper in an individualistic climate, while the use of public libraries appears to show some correlation to economic stability and security. If economic competition is severe, the emotional tensions may work against reading, which presupposes a certain equilibrium. On the other hand, it is obvious that competition, if not excessive, fosters the desire to obtain knowledge.

In the U.S.S.R., libraries show a higher percentage of political writings than in the other countries, and it is often stated that the goal of reading is to become imbued with Marxian thinking. These special foci of reading and of libraries are, however, only operative within certain limits. The reading of one type of material raises problems which have to be answered by new publications. Consequently, if the need for reading is an intellectual one, it will automatically demand greater diversity, while, if there is an emotional need for definite beliefs, a few books will suffice. The person whose convictions rest on strong beliefs is not inclined to read beyond what he needs to re-affirm his beliefs. Our whole rationalized society operates, however, against permanent and strong convictions. The need for diversity is the natural result of a complex society, and it is not justifiable to assume that any modern society can deviate strongly and for long from this general rule. Besides, it would not be the interest of any government to create too many obstacles to reading, because the habit is an interrelated one which is essential for any more complex technological development.

Knowledge in one regard and ignorance in another is a very dangerous combination, because it creates a latent emotional dissatisfaction which might lead to sudden and quite unexpected outbursts.

A perusal of the library statistics of the world tends to have a disheartening result.⁸ The UNESCO publication "Basic facts and figures. Illiteracy, education, libraries, museums, books, newspapers, newsprint, film, radio and television" (Paris, 1954) gives

the following data:

Country	Library (Type)	Population (millions)	No. of volumes reported
Angola (Portuguese)	Govt. Museum Public School	4.8	40,000
Egypt		21.4	1,236,000 The National Univ. accts for over a million of this total. leaving about 163,000 for pub. libraries
Kenya (U.K)		5.7	41,000
Liberia		1.2	2,000
Northern Rhodesia		2.-	4,000
U. of S. Africa	Public(245)	12.-	3,600,000
showing an annual circulation of 9.9 million to 324,000 borrowers. National, University and spec. libraries possess together another 2 million volumes.			
Canada		14.	16,000,000
Cuba		5.8	400,000
Guatemala		3.-	98,000
Mexico		27.-	3,000,000
Argentina		18.-	8,000,000
Colombia		12.-	834,000
Venezuela		5.3	141,000
India		367.-	12,500,000
Indonesia		78.-	2,000,000
Iran		20.-	213,000
Israel		1.6	3,000,000
Japan		85.5	28,000,000
Lebanon		1.3	439,000
Turkey		22.-	2,800,000
United States		157.-	368,000,000

Country	Library (Type)	Population (millions)	No. of volumes reported
Vietnam		25. -	257, 000
Austria		7. -	14, 000, 000
Belgium		8.7	9, 000, 000
Czechoslovakia		13. -	18, 000, 000
Denmark		4.3	9, 000, 000
France		42.6	40, 000, 000
Germany		48.5	55, 000, 000
Italy		47. -	20, 000, 000
Netherlands		10.3	13, 000, 000
Norway		3.3	7, 500, 000
Poland		25. -	24, 000, 000
Portugal		8.5-	4, 000, 000
Spain		28.3	8, 500, 000
Sweden		7. -	22, 000, 000
United Kingdom		50.7	85, 000, 000
Yugoslavia		17. -	10, 000, 000
Australia		8.6	5, 000, 000
New Zealand		2. -	2, 700, 000 ⁹

This evidence is quite revealing. It shows the amazing position of Sweden and the other Scandinavian countries, while the situation of other small countries, like Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, Canada and New Zealand is also significant. Of the larger countries, the United States is in first place, while the United Kingdom and other European countries show significant holdings. The UNESCO-statistics do not contain data for the U.S.S.R. and China (People's Republic). Mr. McColvin¹⁰ quotes an unpublished essay by Mr. Edward Dudley which states that it has been estimated that there were 250,000 libraries of all types in 1940 with 500 million volumes, in 1950 there were 300,000 with 600 million volumes. In view of the rate of literacy, revolutions and wars, this figure seems rather high, but it may have been derived from official sources.

In order to complete the statistical picture, we also give the data on daily newspapers as they appear in the UNESCO-source ¹¹ cited:

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Country: Estimated newspaper-circulation. No. of copies per thousand inhabitants:

AFRICA

Angola (Port).	4
Egypt	25
Kenya	3
Liberia	7
Northern Rhodesia	-
Union of South Africa	57

AMERICA, North

Canada	248
Cuba	72
Guatemala	19
Mexico	48
United States	353

AMERICA, South

Argentina	100
Colombia	57
Venezuela	65

ASIA

India	8
Indonesia	7
Iran	6
Israel	167
Japan	353
Lebanon	77
Turkey	32
Vietnam	9

EUROPE

Austria	214
Belgium	383
Czechoslovakia	191

Country: Estimated newspaper-circulation. No. of copies per thousand inhabitants:

EUROPE (cont'd.)

Denmark	381
France	240
Germany (West)	263
Italy	107
Netherlands	249
Norway	396
Poland	260
Portugal	64
Spain	196
United Kingdom	615
Yugoslavia	41

OCEANIA

Australia	416
New Zealand	358

It is also essential to consider the figures for the consumption of newsprint as this gives some indication of the relative size of newspapers and periodicals (weeklies).

Consumption of newsprint ¹²

Country: Consumption per inhabitant (kilograms) 1951 or latest preceding year

AFRICA

Angola (Port)	0.1
Egypt	0.9
Kenya	0.2 (estimate)
Liberia	---
Northern Rhodesia	0.2
Union of So. Africa	3.2

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Consumption per inhabitant (kilograms) 1951 or latest preceding year

Country:

AMERICA, North

Canada	23.3
Cuba	5.2
Guatemala	0.6
Mexico	2.1 (estimate)
United States	35.1

AMERICA, South

Argentina	6.5 (estimate)
Colombia	1.2
Venezuela	2.6

ASIA

India	0.2
Indonesia	0.1
Iran	0.2
Israel	2.2
Japan	1.8 (figures exclude
Lebanon	0.04 newsprint
Turkey	0.7 substitute)
Vietnam	0.1

EUROPE

Austria	4.2
Belgium and Luxembourg	8.8
Czechoslovakia	3.2
Denmark	10.7
France	8.0
Germany	4.1
Italy	2.2
Netherlands	7.4
Norway	8.2
Poland	2.3 (estimate)
Portugal	1.3
Spain	0.7 (estimate)

Country:	Consumption per inhabitant (kilograms) 1951 or latest preceding year
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EUROPE (cont'd)

United Kingdom	11.9
Yugoslavia	0.6
Sweden	18.7

OCEANIA

Australia	18.1
New Zealand	17.6

From these statistical data, a few interesting generalisations can be made:

1) There is a positive correlation between complexity of socio-economic structure and the production of books, newspapers, and periodicals, and also in regard to libraries (number and holdings).

2) Book-production per million of population is highest in the small countries with high standards of living. Number and use of libraries also ranks high in this category.

3) If the size of newspapers is considered, the United States occupies first place, but in regard to book-production per million of population, it is considerably behind a number of smaller countries.

4) If it is permissible to correlate book- and newspaper production, number and size of libraries, etc., with complexity of socio-economic structure, it is evident that increases in those activities can be expected most in those areas in which the general rate of social change is highest.

5) There seem to be no examples that provide exceptions to this correlation.

6) If it is considered that some countries have several hundred daily newspapers available per thousand inhabitants while library-borrowing comes to a few volumes annually per capita, it is evident that newspaper-reading is the most important part of the reading habit. As about 2 volumes per capita are produced annually in the world and illiteracy stands at about 50%, it could be estimated very roughly that the average reading of books amounts to about double the amount which is borrowed from libraries. This would confirm that the average reader reads one or two newspapers daily, a few weekly or monthly periodicals and approximately 4-5 books annually. As newspaper- and periodical-reading spreads over a much larger percentage of the reading populations, it would be justifiable to assume that the actual book-reading public reads considerably more than the average number, as only a small percentage of the readers (about 10-15%) are book readers.

In order to complete this picture, we would have to know something of the absorptive power of the reader in regard to those various categories of materials. It is immediately evident from a ten-year study of newspaper readers, made by George Gallup, that only 20% of the newspaper is "read" or, perhaps in most cases, scanned. In addition, the reading percentage is highest in regard to "one or more news stories", "one or more strips," "comic cartoon," "picture page," "best department store ad."

Investigations by advertising agencies have proved that most men read the front page of a newspaper first, then they look over the picture page and turn to the sports section. After that they may read some sections that are of specific interest to them. Women readers follow the same pattern but substitute the society page for the sports section; then they turn to women's and food pages.

There are many investigations of this type, and this is not the place to record them. In many countries, for instance, in the smaller European ones, newspapers devote considerable attention to developments in the arts

and sciences and to religious matters.

This type of investigation does not disclose what, of the material read, is actually absorbed. Newspaper-reading caters to the need for information, compensation and, to a very small extent, cultural stimulation. Only what has a fairly direct bearing on the interest-pattern of the reader is retained. Names of political personalities, celebrities, countries and places are repeated if they correspond to reader-interest. If there is no reader-interest, even repetition does not seem to lead to any more permanent retention.

From the point of view of the general interests of a social group, there is little doubt that book-reading is of far greater significance for the creation of intellectual, moral, aesthetic and political values. Reading, like all other things, must be somewhat of an effort in order to carry rewards, and, if writing aims too much at adjusting itself to the reader's mentality and interests, it falls short of its goal. When there is no challenge, there is little or no response.

Consequently, the role of the library is an extremely important one because it is the only organized social institution which fosters the reading of books. In this chapter, some analyses have been made of the factors which seem to influence book-reading. There is no need to repeat them here because the possibility of their application is relative to existing conditions. But it is hoped that they may point to the fact that the task and function of the library in the community is still awaiting more thorough psychological and sociological analysis. Much of our thinking about reading is along narrow lines only. The most fundamental question is what is the impact of reading on the human mind? This problem can be only approached indirectly at present, but it deserves thorough investigation by a team of experts.

Reading may improve the mind, but this is not a result of reading in its generic form: it results only from specific forms of reading, to which more attention

should be devoted.

Notes

- 1 Cp. P. 23. Lionel R. McColvin, The chance to read, London, Phoenix House, 1956.
- 2 Cp. Lionel R. McColvin, o.c. p. 27 and 39.
- 3 o.c. p. 29. for this and the following passages.
- 4 P. 53. Lionel McColvin, o.c.
- 5 The statistics refer to 1950.
- 6 Lionel McColvin, o.c.p. 74.
- 7 As quoted by Lionel McColvin, o.c. p. 88 from:
"Public use of the Library and of other Sources of
Information," by Agnus Campbell and Charles A.
Mezner. (University of Michigan, Institute for
Social Research, rev. ed. 1950).
- 8 Cp. statistical table No. 9 at the end of this
chapter.
- 9 The complete statistical tables are given as ap-
pendices to this chapter.
- 10 o.c. p. 146.
- 11 For complete statistical table see the end of this
chapter (appendix 2).
- 12 For complete table see appendix III to this chapter.

Chapter VII.

The Function Of Writing And The Writer

Writing has often been described as Man's most important discovery. While it is obvious that more complex social structures could not exist without the corresponding means of communication, it is not immediately clear whether greater complexity is synonymous with greater happiness. Ever since Jean Jacques Rousseau, some writers have extolled the greater felicity of the primitive, while others have been equally convinced of the blessings of civilization. The possibility that the truth may lie between the two has been less frequently stressed, but then the middle road is always less spectacular.

Plato divided human life into the realm of necessary and of teleological causes. By the first term he meant the cause-and-effect relationship of nature which Man has to accept while the realm of teleological causes consists of those activities by which Man can strive for greater perfection of his own attributes and where he is free from "necessity."

It is possible to apply this division to writing. We can think of writing as a part of the communication system of a society and we can think of writing as a creative activity by which the individual expresses himself. The realm of necessity includes the communications which are essential to the functioning of a social group, like laws, precepts, educational texts, scientific books which are informative rather than creative, political communications of a similar nature, government reports, newspapers, periodicals, etc. etc.

In creative writing there is no direct practical purpose beyond self-expression, even though it is hoped that the self-expression of A contains values for B, C, D, E, etc.

There are undoubtedly many categories of writing which possess both attributes. These include descriptive journalism, book-reviews, entertainment-writing, books on philosophy or the social and exact sciences which reach beyond that which is generally accepted, etc.

Much depends on the attitude of the writer. Writing can be a job or a vocation. The attitude of the writer in turn is partially determined by the culture-pattern of the society of which he forms a part.

We could easily be tempted to regard "necessary writing" as a function which has no strong emotional values while creative writing would be deemed to carry some emotional satisfaction.

We do not think of the tax consultant who drafts an income-tax form as being emotionally involved in this undertaking, though an emotional response is quite conceivable on the part of the ultimate recipient of the communication. On the other hand, the work of the poet, the novelist, the essayist, the dramatist, the philosopher tends to run through almost the entire scale of emotions. There is a certain emotional release in the act of writing.

The creative writer is an envied creature: he is assumed to do what he likes to do and, in addition, his activity requires little capital-investment while the rewards are reputed to be staggering. He normally has the social privilege of being able to be "different," and it is not unusual that this privilege is built up into specific attitudes and habits. Sometimes these attitudes are copied by those who usurp the privilege without the corresponding activity.

However, if writing is seen in its social setting,

it becomes a much more complex task to follow it in all its ramifications. Intellectual activity, like romantic love, is a product of a complex social structure.

Preliterate societies know the functions of the priest, the magician, the saga-teller, etc., but, when writing develops, it is first used for religious and legal pronouncements, as well as for the recording of the deeds of great kings. Back in Egyptian literature, however, there are such writings as "The Song of the Harper" which are generally designated as wisdom-literature. In fact, the oldest preserved Egyptian writing belongs to this category, the so-called Papyrus Prisse, named after its first owner, which contains a collection of wisdom-literature and which has been termed the "oldest book in the world." The Book of the Dead also goes back to about 30 centuries B.C., as well as a handbook on wound-healing, the Edwin Smith Papyrus, which is at the New York Historical Society.

However, creative writing as a separate function did not emerge before Greek and Roman times. In the Middle Ages, it was greatly reduced but reappeared in the Renaissance. Writing as a profession and as an economic activity came to the fore much later. In Greece and Rome, as well as in the Renaissance, creative writing was often undertaken by the upper classes and professional groups. Those periods also knew the art patron as an important factor of gaining status for not accepted activities.

Most known forms of writing, like the novel or even the mystery story, can be traced back to Antiquity, but there has been increasing variety in the past hundred year within almost all categories.

In spite of the tremendous increase in writing, the social status of the writer has remained indefinite. Toynbee has described the intelligentsia as a special social class of conscripted aliens who have been uprooted and disoriented; A. Koestler defined them as that part of a nation which is not "snugly tucked into the social hierarchy." It has also been customary to see

the intellectual as either aloof or as abandoning this role to participate in revolutions which promise the realisation of his ideas. The successful artist frequently feels that he has betrayed himself, or that his link with society remains insecure or precarious. If unsuccessful, he is in danger of being played upon by political groups which need the neurotic and the dissatisfied in order to achieve their goals.

A good part of the dilemma of the creative artist may be caused by the rapid social change of the past five or six decades which has created a tremendous increase in the means that are at Man's disposal, while the purposes for which they can best be used have become obscured. Every new invention is like a new toy that fascinates by its newness rather than solely by its intrinsic value.

While the creative artist of the past used to be relatively secure in his media he now has to cope with numerous new possibilities which place him before numerous alternatives and choices. He can compromise by partial adjustment to economic imperatives and adapt himself to tasks which seem to lead towards more purely creative activities. But his audience is meanwhile facing the same dilemma: it can choose between radio and television, reading of books and magazines, attending of lectures, travel, etc. and it has barely tried one activity before another one comes to the fore. This combination of factors pushes the intellectual content of creative production back into a frenzied attempt to be heard in one way or another, with no assurance of a steady audience unless its attention can be held either by appealing to strong or unusual emotions or by trying to present what seems to be of overwhelming importance, but is often only so for a brief period.

The anxiety which prevails on the side of the artist as well as of his audience has created a tension which is either hidden behind impersonalized jargon or in the intimacies of disequilibrium. The author either pushes us back from himself or he takes us into the caverns of his soul where the reader often feels like

an immodest stranger.

As the writer has no planned, purposive reaction to the society of which he is a part, he cannot count on a specific circle in this society. He may be either this or that: a part-time journalist, a stockbroker, a laborer, a starving self-styled genius or a government-supported idol whose position rises with the sale of his books.

This is all as it should be, because it is related to the function of the creative writer. The creative writer is the person whose mind does not process the patterns of society in the acknowledged fashion: he either extols them or he abhors them, but he lives in a sphere of sharper awareness. He is not capable of the neat division between working hours and leisure time, of the prescribed rhythm of the organized processes that go on around him. He must, somehow or other, be under compulsion to assert himself and to refuse to remain hidden in the flow of accepted causes.

Gradually he may arrive at a compromise and establish a pattern which gives him a more definite place in the society of which he forms a part. He may also streamline his emotions in a given direction so that his work conforms to a certain type. But, in spite of such adjustments, he has to remain an outsider in the rationalized processes of the minute and far-reaching division of labor. There is no provision in those processes for "creation," because by their very nature they are a repetition of what others have planned and arranged; there may be some liberty in the arrangements of the various components of the task, but the task is part of a whole and not a realm in which the imagination can construct or destroy at will.

This inclination lives in all of us, but it is stronger in the person who is not willing to give up the prerogatives of his fancies and is not satisfied to let them remain daydreams of which the outer world has no awareness. The creative artist feels compelled to show the superiority of his imagined world over the one which

holds him in shackles.

The categories by which we label things are necessarily crude and inaccurate. Much of what is termed "creative writing" may be pattern- or imitative activity; a lot of talent for the esthetic ordering of words may go into private correspondence, business letters, textbooks, advertisements, etc. In fact, it might be worthwhile to compile an anthology of writing that is not generally considered as such. It could include mathematical theorems, the texts of laws, travel-folders and many other materials in which someone's imagination found adequate and effective expression.

But the writer has to fit himself to the reality of a world in which a writer is different from some one who writes. The writer moves in a "web of social relationship." He must identify himself as such, find a patron or a publisher, and an audience, and he must have the will to move forward in the semi-darkness which critics easily turn into blackness. He may try to grow up under the wings of a successful writer or plod his way through literary cliques and esthetic cocktail-parties or he may try to blast his way with a sudden bombshell.

His favorite work may gather dust on the shelves of a few libraries, while something he does not like turns into a literary success or a best-seller. He must have a strongly developed ego, even though it may be hidden behind a feeling of inferiority. But he cannot feel too inferior if he seeks acceptance for the expression of his thoughts.

In fact, the element of a desire for power cannot be ruled out. A competitive society is, therefore, prerequisite for the emergence of art. The boy who whistles or sings with feeling and talent on his way home from the fields will rarely blossom into an artist unless there is a stimulus for him to enter into the turmoil of the centers of the society of which he operates on the fringes.

The stimulus presuppose a certain maladjustment: the advice of cautious parents for a safe career will not send one on the thorny path of creative art unless there are pronounced vested interests in this field. The existence of such interests cannot be denied, though they are more fluid than in the realms of business, government, the professions, etc. The competition in art is more direct and more primitive than in those fields which tend to establish more permanent interests. The latter might be true also of handicraft workers, or for painters, or sculptors, or actors in strongly traditional societies, but not in the fast-moving world of high technological development.

This world may seem to be the enemy of the artist; yet it is also his friend: a stern and demanding friend who is, in addition, at times whimsical and unreliable. It is his friend because though in a traditional society without much technological innovation, his position may be more secure and respected, his activity is exposed to the danger of becoming conventional. There is a revolutionary element in art which makes it impossible to make its acceptance or non-acceptance a process that can be predicted or regulated.

The functions of art are too manifold for any such regulation: if it appeals to conscious taste in its subjects, its methods may be personal; if its techniques seem standardized, it will search for novelty in its subject, but it can never accept permanence or stagnancy. Life is a process, a becoming, of which art expresses the full uncertainty which is dearer to Man's mind than any philosophy or ideology which promises him a certainty which he instinctively feels to be false.

Some sociological generalisations may be possible: The greater value a social group places on activities of Man's imaginative or symbolic faculty, the more art tends to be a part of its function. Religion and art go hand in hand because they both create the symbols which correspond to Man's innermost anguish and anxiety. In more static periods, this may make art the handmaid of religion while, in more dynamic periods, both

go their own way and many even enter into a level of competition if religious institutions are unwilling to accept anything but conformist art.

The more a society strives for power, the more it will tend to foster rational processes rather than imaginative ones, even though it needs imagination for technical innovation and in order to magnify and embellish its goals in the public mind. But imaginative activity is placed somewhat outside the regular flow of events: it is needed but unpredictable and therefore, simultaneously acceptable and unacceptable. It is acceptable because it is needed, but unacceptable because it steps outside the regulated realm of rational activity.

The creative person thus acquires a certain ambiguity. He is admired as well as mistrusted, because he does not fit conventionally into the dominant social group such as the family, the professional group, the political party, etc. While others seek to merge themselves into larger groups, he tends to shun this process, which would rob him of his most treasured possession: the development - and sometimes even the overdevelopment - of his personality. To him organized society is an obstacle rather than an aid, even though art is a recognized function in any society.

If we distinguish static and dynamic elements in each society, it is evident that the creative artist belongs to the dynamic segment, even if he utters a protest against changes in other sectors of the society. He seeks emotional and intellectual differentiation, and this activity must remain an unplanned one, of which he himself is not aware.

In the creative writer the underlying emotions, which every individual has, are developed more strongly and they show greater differentiation. In this way he mirrors via the channels of his expression that which remains submerged in others, and this may be the dominant link between the creative person and his audience.

Every now and then, in dynamic societies, it is

suggested that the creative writer or scientist is "outside society" and that he should be given some share in the guidance of the society in which he, often unwittingly, brings about such startling innovations and changes. Such an attitude may be begging the principle: the creative individual gains sharper awareness of the deficiencies of society and its staggering immobility because he is outside its regularized processes.

If his vision were used for the guidance of immediate and practical matters, this faculty would tend to become blunted. Aristocracies have often contributed some of their members to the arts and sciences, but they are mostly those who are rather indifferent to the privileges they have inherited and are regarded as "queer" or disloyal by their own group. Sociologically speaking, the greatest number of those who belong to the arts and sciences come from the middle classes - lower as well as upper. A certain amount of pressure seems to be conducive to the full development of one's talents, in spite of the violent emotional reactions of some artists to this "social law." If the creative person is placed in a privileged position - either by private or public initiative - he often reacts negatively to the absence of pressures, unless he is already so far developed that the momentum of his ambition carries him on.

This does not mean that starvation is a necessary prerequisite for creation, but that the ups and downs, the high and low points of life must be experienced by the creative individual rather than witnessed as an outsider. An exception should be made for the sharp social awareness of ruling social groups which sometimes occurs before their decline sets in. The standard example of this is the literary oeuvre of the Russian aristocracy in the period preceding the Bolshewik Revolution.

It can also be noted that cultural development often shows two peaks: in an early period when a sort of balanced social growth takes place, and towards the end, after a period of expansionism and material de-

velopment, when a late, more individualistic cultural flowering occurs, often as a sort of stock-taking of the preceding period and as an effort to stave off decay or at least to rescue the individual from the disintegration of the general culture-pattern. Efforts to achieve cultural developments by "organisation" are generally not successful: culture grows by itself and is not subject to any purposive guidance. If attempts in that direction are made, they generally lead to a bloodless art which obtains an artificial success only.

The creative individual interacts directly with his audience and not via the official superstructure which all societies create. This superstructure is mostly a-cultural because it operates in the direction of rationalized control, based on past group-experience.

The efforts of collectivist governments to make creative processes a matter of state-control are sufficient proof of this. In the recent past, they have often led to protests of the artists themselves despite their privileged position, and despite the fact that they may be given greater material security than their counterparts in the Western world possess. This easily leads to a certain conscientious standardisation which may be cherished by the rank and file, but is resented by those who insist upon the uniqueness of the creative process.

It is obvious that creative art, like all social processes, possesses a rhythm of its own. It alternates between more individualistic and more collectivistic periods; it shows schools, trends, fashions, vested interests, etc. but, at least in modern society, it does this to a lesser extent than do most other social activities. Its continuity is not the continuity of an organized social group, but one that has to be interpreted and evaluated by critics and historians. The continuity of art is not felt by the artist himself, but more by the disciplines which are devoted to its analysis, and which establish this continuity by referring art back to its social and psychic roots. In societies in which art is a part of the formal structure, this may lead to a flowering of traditional arts and handicrafts, but such societies will

show a low percentage of creative innovation.

Yet, in each society, the traditional and the creative exist side by side and nourish one another. Only, the more dynamic society will show an interrelationship in which the element of innovation weighs more heavily. But art as a profession or career and art as a calling always exist side by side, though the representatives of both groups tend to resent each other. The organized groups are not in favor of spontaneous, whimsical, sudden innovation, and those who choose to follow new paths make themselves voluntary or involuntary outcasts. Creative groups tend to make this attribute one of their symbols, perhaps to stress their lesser continuity and security compared to other social groups, but, strictly speaking, it should be applied only to those who follow the road of the outsider, even in relation to their own colleagues.

Here again, reality is different from the presentation which the artist tends to give of his own activity. A sociological analysis of creative writing differs from the one which writers tend to give of their own activity or which is given by their biographers. Both of the latter interpretations tend to stress the difference from other activities more strongly than is sometimes justified. Social groups propagandize their own contribution to society, and artists and scientists are at least as prone to do this as are "bakers or candlestick-makers."

It is evident that creative writing is a derived activity which presupposes a society that is willing to support art, quite apart from the question of the extent to which this process is regulated. As a number of links are always required between the writer and his potential audience, continuity of organisation is needed, and this continuity, in turn, has its influence on art. The publisher, the distributor, the library and the critic are very powerful influences in the socialisation of artistic creation.

The more division of labor a society shows, the

more the influence of these intermediary links increases. Several new functions emerge: the literary agent as go-between writer and publisher; the specialized publisher, the subsidized publisher, the distributing agent, the library-adviser, the book-club, the special review journals, the translators, the copyright experts, the playwright with sponsors, theatrical agents, producers, the first night machinery, etc. Somehow or other the prospective writer has to fit himself into this chain and to harden himself against the mechanism of the rejection-slip.

The only thing he can keep in mind is his appeal to a visualized reader, because this is the only interest that all parties have in common. This interest can be interpreted qualitatively - as in special publishing or in subsidized publishing - but it has to exist. It is the "condition since qua non" which makes writing a social activity. Even the diary which is never to be seen by human eyes is written with some fictitious "alter," the person "who understands," whether he be a mortal or a deity.

It is quite startling to reflect how strong the impulse to communicate is in Man. From Aristotle's "political animal" he has become the "communicative animal" of the twentieth century.

Whether this urge to communicate will continue to increase is a puzzling question. It is undoubtedly related to the rate of social change. As can be observed in any village, everything that is new or different will start the tongues wagging, even in a normally taciturn community. Change causes anxiety, and anxiety fosters the desire to communicate. But change in the economic and technical realm has its limitations, and sooner or later, it will dawn on mankind that the "more things change, the more they remain the same," and ultimately the demand for ideas, symbols, and art will come to the fore much more strongly.

Modern society, particularly in the more prosperous countries, is rather niggardly to art, compared to

the societies of ancient Greece and Rome, the Renaissance, the Kingdoms of the 17th and 18th century, ancient India, Persia, China or the Mohammedan world. They loved the magnificent and the monumental, and the desire for these qualities may have become submerged, but it cannot be lost.

There are now many links between the creative artist and his ultimate audience which could be simplified because they have emerged from the propensity of our society for complexity, perhaps due to our admiration for mechanical things. Apart from this being an error in thought, because the efficient machine casts out the superfluous, it tends to stifle creative activity in the long run. Societies as prosperous as the leading ones of the Western World could devote a much larger share of their wealth to artistic creation and could give a place of greater honor to its most difficult forms of achievement. A society which puts a premium on facile forms of mass-entertainment lowers its own standards, and will ultimately lose out in relation to societies with a more balanced sense of proportion.

Escapist or compensatory art does not derive its value from having mass-audiences, because its very existence is due to a lack of equilibrium but not to any aesthetic judgment or any appreciation of artistic values. Good art may draw mass-audiences, but to reverse this relationship is extremely misleading.

Culture and economy should be separated as much as possible because a "mariage de raison" between them is hardly a happy one, and benefits neither party. As creative art does not operate according to economic laws, its highest achievements take a long time to penetrate to the public and only if the public possesses certain attributes. It is not possible to construct a positive relationship between art and economy and to assume some magic law which operates towards ultimate harmony. The economy should allot a share of its products to art, and let art take its own course as it did in those periods when art reached its highest levels.

The position of science is different, because the value of science is recognised - though reluctantly - by the utilitarian. But art and philosophy require a different set of values in a society, and only if these values prevail is it possible to create the atmosphere in which art prospers.

Although it must be recognised that a dynamic society favors creation and innovation, an increasingly complex division of labor places less solidly organised social groups at a disadvantage. It is an additional factor that strong stress on purely economic development dulls the sensibilities that are required for a highly developed art which seems to require a society in which the rate of economic change is not excessive. This is confirmed by recent developments in the Soviet Union where art has not reached the level of the pre-revolutionary period.

The climate which seems to foster intellectual and artistic creation is a very complex one: it requires perhaps a sense of frustration, of the futility of more direct forms of action; a longing for the intangible, an appreciation for the effort involved in the development of talent; and a vitality which does not dare to exhaust itself in the fulfillment of its wishes and desires. Or, in regard to the latter factor, a vitality which has run through the cycles of its fulfillment and seeks renewal through a return to the realm whence things are viewed at a distance.

The desire for reality and the flight from it are intermingled in each individual. In modern society this flight has become increasingly difficult; as a consequence, most of us hover in an atmosphere of semi-darkness. Psychologically, both desires seem to be of crucial importance because Man, in the final analysis is a wanderer between two worlds.

It is doubtful whether our present belief that reality can be shaped in such a fashion that it corresponds to Man's mental fabric is a correct one, and it is quite conceivable that mental needs will once more occupy a

much more important place.

In our present world the function of the creative writer is highly uncertain and indefinite. It is not determined by the literary community itself, but by the interplay of numerous forces of which the writer himself generally only possesses incomplete knowledge. He operates in a field of chance in which the odds are rather against him. In face of this uncertainty, writing begins to seek refuge in universities and colleges because its status as an independent field of activity seems to be diminishing.

This may have some relationship with the increased social mobility of modern society, because an established aristocracy often favors the development of arts. This group is now missing from most societies, and has been replaced by a fluid group of those who are interested in art. But this group lacks stability and continuity; it is whimsical and erratic and fails to furnish a point of orientation to the artist himself. The critic who forms a link between an erudite group and the creative individual is faced with the same problem; he cannot assume the existence of literary or esthetic judgment in his audience. He writes for a shifting group whose capacities he cannot gauge, except in those cases where there are remnants of erudite groups left. But the professionalisation of modern society does not create new adherents to these groups; modern education creates technicians rather than cultured people. The economically secure are to be found increasingly in the higher age groups, while cultural interests have to grow throughout a lifetime, and will not be generally acquired at a later age.

A change in this situation could be expected only if our society would acquire more stable forms. Excessive mobility creates anxiety, and this anxiety leads to an interest in compensatory and escapist art forms. This function is important, but it will not tend to create really great art because it lacks the sense of inner freedom which is needed for full artistic awareness. Compulsive art-forms are a necessary social mechan-

ism, but their forced motion leaves out attributes which more balanced art-forms possess.

The prevailing literary traditions often furnish this needed perspective, but the traditions themselves are losing force and efficacy. In order to free art from the danger of becoming chaotic, its economic position must be reconsidered. The major social functions, like religion, art, law, economy, etc. all have their own rhythm and their own innate structural laws. If one realm of society forces its rhythm and structure on the others, a disequilibrium results, whether the dominant realm be religion, politics or economics.

A balanced society can emerge only if each major social function can achieve a life of its own, and the impact of technology and economics on religion, art, literature, law and even family-structure has been excessive. The result has been that many social functions have lost their identity: religion compromises with hedonism; the thinking about society takes place in terms of pseudo-sciences which imitate the exact ones; law has fallen victim to a rationalism that was inspired by invalid notions of natural laws, etc., etc.

Of course, there is always action and reaction, and our intellectual fabric is so complex that there can be only question of one tendency prevailing over others. But religion, art, literature and poetry deserve better than to mirror only the imperfections of our society. This may be one of its functions, but there are others which greater independence would bring to the fore if the interplay and struggle between economics and state would not absorb all our energies and most of our resources.

On neither side is the intellectual or the artist recognised. He is an outsider who has to live by appealing to the frustrations of the masses instead of being among their leaders. Philosophy, literature, and poetry can exercise a guiding function because they appeal to some of our most basic mental and spiritual needs, even if they are submerged for the moment.

But it is not the function of the creative artist to produce advertising copy or to be a public relations counselor to a government.

Undoubtedly nature will furnish an automatic correction, but the methods of nature are often harsh and cruel. It would be much wiser to understand that Man cannot live by bread alone and to shape our life accordingly. The assumption of Man's rationality has led to a preponderance of science over art though it could be doubted whether the latter is not far more important to the individual than the former. This has also caused people to hide their feelings and opinions behind a stereotyped jargon because they feel the obligation to be "objective" rather than human.

Thus, numerous books are produced, on international affairs for instance, in which observations of human beings are pressed into a rationalized framework in which elements of economic, political and other theories are combined. Somehow or other there has to be progress, but, as Socrates remarked some 24 centuries ago, Man can only be himself.

The fact that the artist is either at the mercy of overly complex economic machinery, or has to adjust himself to the wheels of a governmental bureaucracy, may shape him into an important force for the needed reformations of our society.

But the time has come to enumerate the brighter side of the picture. Writing has a function in regard to the two major groups which make up modern society: on the one side we find mass-production and, on the other side, mass-bureaucracies. Between these two groups a sort of pragmatic equilibrium prevails which is based on a compromise.

In regard to the mass-populations, creative writing has the important function of portraying the uneasiness, the anxieties, the frustrations of the people. In regard to the mass-bureaucracies writing can either carry out a propagandistic or a critical function. In an

age in which the rule of the mass-bureaucracy is based on rationalistic attitudes, many "scientific" publications fall under the category of apologies of this most recent form of rule, but many of the older disciplines, like philosophy, show a more critical attitude.

In the impact of mass-bureaucracies on mass populations - which to a varying extent is taking place almost everywhere - the greatest danger to mankind is the loss of individuality and personality and the artificial rhythm which is being defended as "innate" in the processes of mass-production, though these processes are supposedly "serving" mankind.

The lifeless and stereotyped culture which is emerging places a heavy responsibility on the intellectual, the creative artist, and the religious leader. It is to them that mankind is turning in order to escape the deadening and leavening impact of mass-bureaucracy which is drowning Man under an avalanche of laws, regulations, forms, reports, planning, etc., etc.

Thus, while creative activities in the symbolic and artistic realm are under a heavy strain at present, they are nevertheless the expression of the evolutionist forces which are working towards a more balanced future.

It is the "non-massified" person who can still weigh the pro's and con's of our contemporary society, and create an image of the changes which are essential. These changes may not be too many or too far reaching, but they seem to point in the direction of greater independence of the various functions of our society and of decentralisation. We have centralised too long, and it has created too heavy an emotional strain on the average person.

Our society has become wealthy enough to decentralize if it is realized that continued international competition unavoidably leads to conflict, and conflict would mean global poverty and starvation. It is the task of the creative writer to hold up a mirror to the world, and this task should not be left to the blind

interplay of social forces, but given the place which it deserves in terms of its importance.

Creative writing is based on respect for the individual, his task and his judgment. It is up to the individual to show that he possesses these qualities which are essential for his own survival.

Chapter VIII.

The Function Of The Library

From the foregoing chapters it has become clear that it is not feasible to treat the function of a given activity or a given organisation as a simple one. How this function is viewed depends on the value-system of the social group in question, and it is impossible to apply an objective yard-stick, unless one assumes the existence of a general science. There is no such science and each judgment will differ greatly depending upon whether it is pronounced from the viewpoint of theology, moral philosophy, the rationalistic theory of progress, sociology, economics, etc. Common sense might be the best solution, unless it is assumed that the empirical approach of contemporary social science is the most useful one. Even this will not lead to any general conclusions, because its results will differ for each social group. What would be true in country A would be wrong in regard to country B, and the easy subterfuge of speaking about more and less developed countries is not justifiable. Who determines whether they are more or less developed, and in relationship to what?

This brings us right back to the differing viewpoints on progress of the theologian, the moral philosopher, the enlightened rationalist, the social biologist, the sociologist, etc., etc.

For these various reasons it seems justifiable to conclude - and a satisfactory conclusion it may sound to many - that common sense must be our guiding principle in trying to analyze the social function of the library.

The use of common sense is all the more pleasing because it prevents us from going into vague generalities. With a variation on General Jackson one could say that the best library is the one that gets most books to most people in the shortest time. With the necessary reservations and transformations, this principle may well serve in a general way as it enables us to investigate what libraries do and what they do not in order to bring about this desired state of affairs.

Of course, in regard to special-libraries, national libraries and large university-libraries, reservations must be made which are obvious enough. The function of the "collective memory," which is served by the latter two, does not quite fall under the general principle: as the social group must be granted a sort of permanent semi-amnesia.

This principle would be convincing enough in regard to the lending-library around the corner which supplies adventure, visions of love, mystery, emotion and some information to the inhabitants of the neighborhood. It might function best if it realizes that reading is a generic habit and that people are not often so concerned about individual choice as the standard-principles of our society would like us to believe.

If people were given a card on which they could mark that they would like to read so many books in this or that category annually, many would be satisfied to leave the choice to the librarian, particularly if the service included home-delivery. Not everyone is willing or able to obtain Aimard or Fennimore Cooper, by an hour's walk to the lending library.

Most social institutions are ultimately centered around the consumer because in the final analysis consumption determines production. The consumer chooses between certain categories of goods: food, housing, clothing, etc., but within these categories he is amenable to guidance. The limits between the basic categories are by no means static, so that much depends on the influences to which the consumer is subjected.

As a consequence, if the library were to remain a passive agency while others are active, it would tend to lose ground - even though the absence of pressures is considered a positive attribute by some people.

The relationship between libraries and potential readers is one that depends to a considerable extent on the general attitudes and mental-pattern of a given society. While there is undoubtedly a correlation between the complexity of the social system and the need for reading, there are additional factors, and the reader-publication relationship does not have to take place via a library.

Presented graphically, the situation is as follows:

Y:	Social group	A:	Publications
X:	Readers	B:	Publications in libraries

It can be said that Y is larger than X and A is larger than B, but can this relationship be determined more definitely? How much of the national income is spent on publications and on libraries and can these percentages reasonably be expected to increase or decrease and under what circumstances? If reading itself were to remain constant while reading in libraries or via libraries should increase, a structural social change takes place, and the consequences of this change would have to be analyzed before a judgment of the significance of the change could be made.

In the first place, we will consider the relationship between total population and number of readers. It is obvious that the percentage moves between approximately 0-90% although zero would hold true only for preliterate societies. All other societies could be marked somewhere on the 0-90 scale, and it is obvious that this percentage is decided primarily by the educational system. Educational systems that do not teach reading occur only in the rural areas of more complex

civilisations. As a consequence, education is more universal than reading, but as soon as a certain degree of social complexity is reached, reading and writing occur at least in the upper layers of the civilisation in question. If it is accepted that reading and writing arose in the first civilisations, these must have shown greater numerical and social density than the preceding pre-literate civilisations. It is from increasing social density that the need for increased communication arises. This is confirmed by the fact that the cities of early Antiquity already possessed fairly sizeable populations. In other words, social density shows a positive correlation to physical density. The accumulation of people in one place does not diminish but increases the need for communication because this need is a result of greater social complexity.

Accumulation of population is essential to the need for reading. Thus, the more urbanized a society becomes, the higher the percentage of readers in the total population. Greater division of social labor, meaning increasing specialisation, will also tend to increase the need for libraries, because specialized reading can be better served by a library than by a private collection of books. On the other hand, as was noted above, the degree of tension in a given society also influences reading-habits.

The fact that reading is positively correlated to the complexity of the division of social labor is confirmed by the phenomenon that reading is a generic habit. If reading is essential for the acquisition of social status, emotional release and spiritual compensation will also be sought via the established habit-channels. If reading has no part in a person's work-pattern, it would be unrealistic to assume that he will develop the habit purely for compensatory or recreational reading. The level of social development permeates all activities, though not to the same degree.

As modern society seeks an increasingly complex division of labor, it must be assumed that the need for reading will increase, unless we can identify forces

that work in the opposite direction. One of these forces might be that modern society also stimulates mass-media patterns and reading is subject to this same influence.

Thus, two forces counteract one another: the need for specialisation demands serious reading-materials, while mass-consumption habits require compensatory and recreational materials that are accessible to the average person without too much of an effort.

This makes the function of the library a dualistic one: Should it cater to both needs or should it stress one and ignore the other?

It is obvious that through sheer force of necessity both needs have played a role in the development of libraries, even though their relative influence has varied in the different periods. In the Middle Ages, reading was not thought of as a pleasure, but as a devotional activity. A change took place in the later Middle Ages with the emergence of "chansons de geste," folk tales, the romances of the troubadours, etc. In the New Era, reading was considered a duty, and libraries were frequently exhorted to foster civic virtues and knowledge by concentrating on serious materials.

It was mostly the ambiguity of literature which opened the shelves of libraries to materials which should be regarded as compensatory and recreational rather than "serious." Literature in its function of "art" had undoubtedly a right to be heard - and a very important one - but it has never been possible to draw a hard and fast line as to where literature stops and entertainment begins. Opinions on this would tend to be strongly divided: a realistic novel might be "art" to an admirer; an appeal to frustrated instincts by a reformer, etc. It has not, therefore, been possible for the librarian to establish definite categories of books which should be regarded as art and others which fall under the classification of entertainment. Some detective-stories are regarded as "literature," others not; but judgments about matters of this kind crystallize

very slowly into definitely accepted opinions. In regard to contemporary books, judgments of this kind are possible only along very general lines, and a library can only base its opinions on reviews and on reports of library services, both of which are known to misfire at times. Thus, again a quantitative aspect creeps in: it is safer to have too much than to be too restrictive.

The great increase in libraries in this century has been in public libraries, in special libraries and in University libraries. Statistical data give the following picture of their interrelationship.¹

Country	Yr. 19-	Li-braries Type	Report-ing number	Hold-ings (thous. of vol.)	Annual Circu-lation (thous. of vol.)	No. of readers (thous-ands)
AFRICA						
<u>Angola</u> (port)	52	Gov. Dep.	5	8	-	-
	52	Museum	1	4	-	--
	52	Public	2	20	-	-
	52	School	3	9	-	-
Egypt	49	National	1	428	185	101
	49	Univ. & other inst. higher ed.	26	601	245	174
	49	Special	2	44	1	1
	49	Municipal & local	8	163	136	114
Gold Coast (U.K.)	52	Univ.	1	47	-	-
	52	Other inst. higher ed.	2	6	-	-
	52	Gov. Dep.	2	3	-	-
	52	Other spec.	2	1	-	-
	52	Public	1	65	-	-
Union of So. Africa	51	National	1	320	234	4
	51	Univ.	17	875	375	18
	51	Other inst. higher ed.	7	100	35	4
	51	Special	34	957	-	-
	51	Public	245	3616	9947	324

Country	Yr. 19-	Libraries Type	Report- ing number	Hold- ings (thous. of vol.)	Annual Circu- lation (thous. of vol.)	No. of readers (thous- ands)
<u>AMERICA, North</u>						
Canada	47	Un & Coll.	169	5803	2556	-
	47	Special	173	3544	861	-
	47	Public	1144	6431	19721	-
Mexico	50	National	1	300	159	-
	46	Special	9	378	-	-
	42	Public	213	2261	2707	3436
United States	50	Lib. of Congress	1	9000	2324	1740
	50	Univ.	131	66472	-	1253
	50	Other inst. higher ed.	1362	44314	-	1292
	50	Special	163	11864	-	-
	50	Public	6100	136230	348845	25504
	50	School	98800	100000	-	-
<u>AMERICA, South</u>						
Argentina	48	National	1	532	-	128
	48	Popular	1532	5559	-	-
	48	School Board	6443	557	-	519
	48	Student	4	-	49	66
	48	Primary school	5711	1036	-	1011
	48	Teachers	1	-	129	86
	48	Schools for Adults	163	80	-	74
	51	National	1	-	166	73
Brazil	49	Pub. & semi-pub.	3375	11568	8905	-
	50	Public	1	20	127	-
Chile	50	National	1	2000	-	750
	50	Univ.	1	41	-	44
	50	Other pub.	49	315	-	631
	50	Municipal	32	117	-	194
	50	Semi-pub.	4	24	-	7
	50	Spec.	17	242	-	-

Country	Yr. 19-	Libra- ries Type	Report- ing number	Hold- ings (thous. of vol.)	Annual Circu- lation (thous. of vol.)	No. of readers (thous- ands)
Chile	50	School	9	53	-	158
Ecuador	42	National	1	150	-	104
	42	Special	17	21	-	2
	42	Secondary school	20	59	-	150
	42	Other pub.	32	-	-	182
ASIA						
India	51	National	1	541	42	7
	51	Centr. gov. offices	72	1037	-	-
	51	State gov. offices	33	506	-	-
	51	Museums	7	9	-	-
	51	Univ. & Coll.	615	6813	-	-
	51	Other inst. higher ed.	52	658	-	-
	51	Public	198	2776	-	-
	51	Pub. school	12	69	45	3
Indonesia	50	Nat. & Un.	1	400	-	-
	50	Central	1	500	-	-
	50	Other Un.	8	99	-	-
	50	Admin.	6	297	-	-
	50	Research	9	449	-	-
	50	General	4	66	-	-
Iran	49	National	2	82	-	-
	49	Univ.	9	77	-	-
	49	Special	12	40	-	-
	49	Public	1	14	-	-
Japan	50	Univ.	334	17845	7237	4498
	50	Jr. Coll.	79	657	-	-
	50	Pub.	972	9093	16395	11438
Turkey	50	National	1	175.	-	15
	50	Inst. high- er ed.	-	363	-	-
	50	School	-	1380	-	-
	50	Public	86	848	-	830
	49	Popular	54	5	-	6

Country	Yr. 19-	Libra- ries Type	Report- ing number	Hold- ings (thous. of vol.)	Annual Circu- lation (thous. of vol.)	No. of readers (thous- ands)
EUROPE						
<u>Austria</u>	51	National	1	1409	244	76
	51	Univ.	3	2157	260	114
	51	Other inst. higher ed.	9	1021	284	196
	51	Special	780	8000	-	-
	51	Public	1600	1200	-	-
Belgium	50	National	1	1243	146	105
	48	Public	2092	7703	12116	677
Czechoslo- vakia	50	National	1	1493	155	-
	50	" (Slov.)	1	64	-	-
	50	Univ.	3	2126	307	-
	50	Other inst. higher ed.	9	585	235	-
	50	Museum	3	1478	148	-
Denmark	50	Other scien- tific	4	1515	81	-
	50	Popular	14650	10750	20853	1148
	51	National	1	1640	676	-
	51	Univ.	1	583	166	-
	51	Other tech. & scientific	12	706	173	-
France	51	Public	1311	5067	14946	-
	51	Childrens	228	1155	3275	453
	51	Nat. (Paris)	4	10645	983	292
	51	Nat. & Univ. (Strasbourg)	1	1375	56	23
	51	Univ.	16	11816	2300	2945
	51	Other inst. higher ed.	3	1060	61	53
	51	Spec.	2	1885	41	-
	51	Municipal (Paris)	76	750	2705	-
	51	Mun. (Seine)	80	-	1288	-
	51	" (other)	149	11677	6614	2124
	51	Central lending	18	560	988	-

Country	Yr. 19-	Libraries Type	Reporting number	Holdings (thous. of vol.)	Annual Circulation (thous. of vol.)	No. of readers (thous. ands)
France	51	Readers assoc.	10	123	-	-
Germany	50	State sup.	1289	38011	-	-
	50	Other pub.	173	8015	-	-
	50	Univ.	146	3711	-	-
	50	Research	195	5172	-	-
Netherlands	51	National	1	800	73	65
	51	Univ.	6	4500	250	-
	51	Other inst. higher ed.	4	565	75	35
	51	Govt. dept.	36	2270	280	140
	51	Other govt. dept.	76	1520	-	-
	51	Research	47	325	-	-
	50	Public	98	2940	8396	1112
Norway	51	Univ. (Oslo)	1	1191	79	71
	51	Other inst. higher ed.	136	1335	-	-
	51	Other sci. inst.	24	659	-	-
	51	Govt. off.	28	433	-	-
	51	Assoc.	39	260	-	-
	51	Prison & hosp.	9	40	-	-
	51	Military	6	115	-	-
	50	Public	1136	2663	4395	-
	50	School	5259	856	1812	-
Sweden	50	National	1	750	30	-
	50	Univ.	3	2700	129	-
	50	Other inst. higher ed.	20	918	-	-
	50	Teacher training colleges	29	256	132	19
	50	Research	28	1566	-	-
	51	State county	2	315	216	10
	51	Commune	1603	6474	15040	791

Country	Yr. 19-	Libra- ries Type	Report- ing number	Hold- ings (thous. of vol.)	Annual Circu- lation (thous. of vol.)	No. of readers (thous- ands)
Sweden	50	Study circ.	3082	1815	2128	254
	50	Hospital	168	254	718	66
	50	Military	84	276	516	46
	50	Other pub.	5	4	2	0.4
	50	Sec. school	221	2096	547	50
	50	Techn. "	15	60	3	0.8
	51	Elem. "	1941	3762	9621	562
	51	Other "	339	686	429	48
United Kingdom	50	National	8	9053	-	-
	50	Univ.	68	10826	-	-
	50	Other inst. higher ed.	269	2992	-	-
	50	Other re- search & sci. inst.	330	7185	-	-
	50	Govt. dept.	81	2539	-	-
	50	Indus. & commerc.	34	161	-	-
	50	County	87	15300	97977	4730
	50	Municipal	427	26900	213385	7650
OCEANIA						
New Zealand	51	National	1	398	320	--
	51	Gen. Assem.	1	206	23	1
	51	Other nat.	1	100	-	4
	51	University	6	399	177	-
	51	Teacher train- ing coll.	5	70	69	-
	51	Special	60	200	-	-
	49	Public	104	1360	7887	250

From these figures it is obvious that the public and school libraries rank first in regard to annual circulation, number of readers, and collections. National and university libraries show a much lower ratio of use while special libraries cannot be judged according to this criterion.

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It is obvious that reasons of prestige, status, etc. are a factor in the size of national and university libraries. In the case of the latter, coordination and specialisation are undoubtedly possible, but, in many countries, inter-academic competition and a large degree of autonomy work against the achieving of some degree of integration. There is no need to point out that these problems are national or regional ones, and that it is not possible to analyze them in general terms.

If social developments are considered to be cumulative, the conclusion would seem warranted that the greatest future development would take place in the field of public and of special and research libraries. It is typical for modern society that the whole sector of publications which in the United States is cautiously labeled "non-fiction" includes many works which are not strictly scientific in a specialized sense, but which are aimed at giving information to the interested rather than to the expert. They belong more to the public than to the university library which is focused on specialized publications.

The dividing lines between various categories of publications have become much less distinct, and this makes it more difficult to arrive at satisfactory coordination between various types of libraries. The spread of education and of technical skills has diminished the "reading distance," while, on the other hand, the erudite small groups of preceding periods are beginning to disappear.

This has resulted in a decrease in the difference between the university and public library. As the "scientific method" is now applied to almost every conceivable topic, the term "scientific books" begins to indicate publications which have been written impersonally and rationally, rather than publications which presuppose a certain amount of specific knowledge on the part of the reader. The publications that do require such knowledge are increasingly beginning to be placed in special and research libraries. The large university library is obliged to take the "general scientific" as well as the

"specifically scientific," and this makes its distinction from the larger public library relatively small. It also means that both types of libraries tend to continue to increase in size excessively, so that some division of labor is going to be increasingly essential.

The task of aiming for completeness can most easily be divided between the national library and the large university libraries. If there is a requirement of legal deposit, it would be logical for the university libraries to concentrate on specific segments of foreign literature, while special and research-libraries would form a second line of defense through which a satisfactory relationship between quantity of materials and quantity of readers can be achieved. Such a system does require a central or union catalogue although quantitative and functional restrictions may be essential in order to prevent it from becoming unwieldy. Union catalogues for branches of science which need this type of information might be centralized in specific institutes while a general union catalogue could be restricted to those materials which are not already covered and not contained in the national library under rules of legal deposit.

The most important type of library is the public library, particularly in the more highly developed countries. As reading is a generic habit, it can only be extended by making it more and more a pleasure and less and less a duty or an activity which is based on secondary motives. This task cannot be carried out by national or the university libraries which are, by their nature, centralized and formalistic in their attitudes, but it can be achieved by the public library, with its branches, its active reader-contact and its potential for establishing functional relationship between supply and demand.

It is not only reading for relaxation which can be a pleasure, but also reading for knowledge and information, and this will be more so when it is realized that materials of this type can be presented in a personal style and do not become "learned," because they are

written in an unreadable, pretentious jargon or a formalized style. The really difficult topics create their own complexity of style and presentation and will always be accessible to only a few people. Pseudo-science and pseudo-learning are, however, the great dangers of modern society; these alienate many people who, emotionally could easily be converted into readers.

The unfortunate interaction between science and government-jargon leads to needs for compensation in those who have to deal with this type of material, and this interaction seriously threatens the realm of literature and of the erudite book, while they favor the predominance of compensatory and sensational writing. It is within the powers of public libraries to counteract this trend, because they furnish the best registration possibilities of the reader-reading materials relationship. By exerting this influence, they can aid to develop this relationship in a constructive way and to counteract the tendency for "status-writing."

In an abstract way, an ideal library-system could be envisaged as follows:

National library

Functional Union Catalogue

University libraries Special and research-libraries

(with specialised sections)

Special Union Catalogues

Depository libraries

Depository libraries

Public library system

School libraries

Open Shelf system

Browsing room

Reader service

Functional Books-Readers Relationship

(Maximum size periodically established)

Branch libraries

Branch-libraries

Distribution points.

Bookmobiles, etc.

It is obvious that such a system presupposes general literacy, a high general standard of education, an "open" society without caste-groups, a high standard of living, absence of high social tensions and adequate governmental provisions, without undue centralisation.

In social groups in which only a leading group is literate, there is more need for good university, college and school libraries than for public libraries - which would be relatively little used. The impetus for general literacy must come from within the society, from its desire for improvement. In this chain of development, the library becomes important at the stage when the initial development has already taken place.

In regard to the development in less-developed territories, it is obvious that they are likely to go through the stages which occurred in the more advanced societies although this process may take place at accelerated speed. These stages would tend to indicate that reading first becomes habitual in the upper-middle and middle class, spreads to the lower middle and upper-working class with higher technological development, and remains limited in the middle and lower working class, even under favorable conditions.

Whether this development can be accelerated by centralized control or despotic measures is doubtful. Force may work at early stages, but reading cannot become a general habit, unless it finds, in the long run, a positive emotional response, which cannot be achieved under a system of compulsion. This emotional response requires variety and generality and does not come out

of a relatively simple set of standardized beliefs

As the production of books and the development of libraries shows a positive correlation with the complexity of the division of labor of a given society, it should be possible to work out a "normal" relation between the national income and the expenditures for those two activities. It can then be considered whether an increase in this ratio is possible and at the cost of what other activities. If we think in terms of continued development, this ratio would be likely to increase because increasing complexity in the division of labor requires increased intellectual effort. In a global society which would tend towards greater stability, the ratio should prove to be a fairly stable one, but should show considerable local variations, depending on tradition, climate, income, etc.

There is not much merit in simply stating that expenditures for book-production and libraries should be larger, because such a statement is quite meaningless. If national income rises, they more or less automatically become larger, but, under static conditions, expenditures for one activity cannot rise unless those for others fall off, and it would take a brave crusader, rather than a sociologist, to say that some other activities should be sacrificed to book-production and libraries. If they should be, they would be, to put it simply.

Sociologically speaking, however, it is possible to analyze trends only, and, as soon as a situation becomes static trend-analysis becomes impossible. It is possible, however, to re-examine the social goals of libraries to do adequate library-planning, and to streamline existing facilities.

In regard to the first point it is quite essential to analyze the validity of the quantitative goals which have become customary in the past 60 or 70 years. Since the thinking of that entire period was quantitative, it is not surprising that this was also applied rather uncritically to libraries, but it is equally obvious that this idea assumes different propositions now that our philosophy is

showing indications of change, and is beginning to be more structured.

It is not only that publications show a structure in regard to quantity and quality, but so does reading. It would be easy to assert that quantity and quality stand in an inverse relationship, but matters are not quite that simple. In regard to quantity, the picture runs somewhat as follows:

	Annually in the U.S
Newspapers and periodicals	
Schoolbooks	
Best sellers:	
fiction and	
non-fiction	
Other books	

Obviously, it is not possible to reverse this relationship in regard to quality, and it supports the contention that it is impossible to treat publications as if they are of equal value.

Books differ in regard to the number of their readers. Is this to be considered a criterion of quality? If this were answered positively, the most important publications would be newspapers and periodicals. Obviously there is something wrong with this answer. We either have to apply the criterion of duration of use, or to say that publications cater to different kinds of human needs. In the latter case we must analyse the function of libraries in relation to these needs.

To use the duration of use as a yardstick is hardly very useful to libraries, because it cannot be applied to original selection and it operates almost automatically in regard to the discarding of publications.

Thus, the only possibility becomes that of relating publications to the different categories of human needs,

and determination of the needs that require the continued preservation of printed materials.

The argument that we should preserve everything because we want to know everything seems false. The mind is by nature selective, and, in addition, although the interrelationship differs, the past never has the same weight as the present or the future.

Reading has been analysed in the categories of salvation-, culture, achievement-, and compensatory-reading. The first two correspond to long-term social needs, and there will be little argument that the publications falling under these two categories need to be preserved.

The great difficulty arises in regard to achievement-reading which requires the greatest amount of materials in modern libraries. Knowledge is cumulative, and this means that our main interest centers, in any given field, on the present state of knowledge. The history of the science is a separate discipline, while classics in a given field are established by social custom.

Thus, it would seem feasible to review books in a given field periodically and to retain only those which are important for the historical development of that science or which are likely to become classics. Those which are important from the historical viewpoint could be retained in a few libraries only. If a few medical libraries, for instance, concentrate on the history of medicine, this will undoubtedly be sufficient, while if all medical libraries retain older materials they all tend to become cumbersome and inefficient.

In this way the accumulative tendency of libraries could be curtailed so that there is an acceptable proportion between materials and readers. It might be possible to work out this relationship for various categories of libraries, but this will not be attempted in this study.

In regard to compensatory and recreational reading, it is obvious that we deal with materials produced for short-term needs, and their preservation seems superfluous, except, selectively, as the illustration of the mores of a given period or a given location. It might be quite useful in this respect to preserve all sorts of odd materials; not completely, but merely as indicative of given types.

The difficulty is that the criterion of long- and short-term use becomes controversial if we deal with certain types of government publications, certain categories of scientific and political books, etc. It might be conceivable, however, that committees would periodically review these materials and characterize them as long- and short-term. Each library could still be able to decide these matters according to its own requirements, but there would be a generally accepted yard-stick.

If reading is seen as an activity from which the individual derives a certain emotional satisfaction, it must be taken into account that "too much" has a deadening effect that can be as bad as "too little." Nothing is more disheartening than rows and rows of books which are never used and which neither by their contents or their appearance are ever likely to arouse interest. In addition, they drown out good books and threaten the development of "classics" in our contemporary society. It is by its classics that a period is remembered and not by the quantity of books preserved. Furthermore, it should be an attribute of our "social age," that we see a given function in relation to society as a whole and do not press blindly for its aggrandizement out of basically selfish motives.

Library-planning can be undertaken adequately only if it is done with regard for the printed materials-potential use relationship, but not under vague and high-sounding principles like the spreading of knowledge, democratisation of science, etc., etc. Reading, too, has a structure, and this structure cannot be altered by ignoring it.

Of all social institutions, it is the library which has the clearest view of the relation between books and readers and which can hope to analyze the present in order to plan for the future. It would be unrealistic to ignore the status-factor in the development of libraries. The most powerful countries have always tried to have the largest libraries, but the status-factor should not be the dominant one in regard to planning. Indirectly, the status-struggle yields some positive results. No one can deny the value of the great national libraries, but their function is a specific one which cannot be applied to other types of libraries and which has often worked too much as a stimulus for increase in quantity in other types of libraries.

It may seem that our recent observations are in conflict with some of the statements in the beginning of this chapter. This is, however, only apparent, because there too the relationship of materials-users was stressed as the guiding principle. Although this principle is a simple one, it becomes complex when it is applied in a specific case. It can be seen only as the application of a general philosophical principle which is seeking recognition and which indicates that the structure of the present shows the trends of future development. This structure not only contains the results of recent developments but goes back much further. It is an indication of social growth rather than of planned social development, and the concept of growth is not a linear upward movement but a curve, since the rate of growth is relative. We may be in a period in which the rate of outward social growth is high, but it would be a basic error to expect this development to continue in the same proportion indefinitely.

We can but base all social analyses upon our concept of Man, and Man changes slowly. If his intellect is taxed too heavily, his emotions and his imagination protest, and, ultimately, emotions and drives as well as intellect and imagination determine the amount of satisfaction that is derived from life.

The only factor in which we can readily observe

change is the numerical increase of Man. This numerical increase presupposes, and perhaps causes, increasing control over the natural and social environment. It is this factor of increase on which we can base our calculations, but it must be observed that this rate of increase cannot be predicted reliably over a very long period and that it is by no means a constant. It is, however, possible to analyze our social phenomena in relation to two factors: numerical increase and complexity of social structure. These two are obviously interrelated although in a way that can only be ascertained empirically.

These two principles suffice for analysis of the functions of publishing and libraries, and they furnish a reliable empirical basis which can be used to interpret the present as well as to calculate future trends. They are preferable to abstract principles which, more often, indicate subconscious wishes and do not reflect the realities with which we have to work.

Chapter IX.

The Library In Different Culture-Stages

It is not possible to describe the development of the library in relation to human society in general in a logical fashion, because the world consists of culture-areas, which have gone through comparable stages of development and which have often influenced one another in varying degrees. Human society has never shown uniform development; rather there are focal points or areas of rapid growth while other parts of the world remained relatively stagnant. It is not possible to equate these processes with numerical increase, because culture-development is often initiated by small groups, even though, in the long run, successful cultures tend to show numerical development. There are, however, different stages of cultural development. While the higher stage shows relatively better control over the social and natural environment, the result is often that more people achieve a higher standard of living than people in less developed countries, but it does not mean numerical superiority. On the contrary, the pressure of the less developed on the higher developed often takes place in terms of larger numbers.

If we consider mankind as a whole, numerical increase might be interpreted as a sign of the vitality of mankind but, if we consider culture-areas and cultural stages, it is the control over the social and natural environment - which may result in more effective numerical growth if we consider the average age - that must be used as the yardstick.

If this is done, we can distinguish cultural stages in terms of the sum-total of social experience which

social groups possess. An optimum-stage is reached if group-vitality and group-experience reach the point at which the group can function most effectively. With increasing experience but declining vitality, decay may set in if the group-mind can no longer process the new experiences in an orderly or useful fashion.

It is obvious that the sum-total of social experience has a cumulative effect, and, as a result, this experience enables Man to create larger and more complex social groups. Thus, there is no specific social institution, like the family, the tribe or the state, which can be considered as the general computation-point of social action. At times it is the family or the tribe, at times the state or the regional group which controls the greatest part of social action.

The more complex social forms arose only after the state emerged as the basic social unit, and, if we deal with communication-patterns in written form, there is no need to deal with the primitive culture-stages. In fact, the development of writing, and, later on, printing, pretty much followed the general trends of civilisational development. They emerged in the early civilisations of the Near and Middle East, in India and China; they then moved to Greece and Rome and followed the emergence of Western civilisation. In our time they run parallel to the general power-structure of the contemporary world. The speed of their development often lags behind that of other cultural manifestations which represent a more direct response to social challenges, as in many cases of technical innovation.

This generally positive correlation between writing, etc. and social complexity enables us to distinguish certain stages in the development of the communication-patterns with which we deal. There is no justification for following the various stages of Western civilisation alone, because the development shifted through a number of dominant civilisations.

Within the growth of each civilisation, certain stages can be distinguished, and these stages repeat

themselves in a related, though obviously not identical fashion, in regard to the larger-than-civilisational development, namely that of world-society. These stages can be interpreted in terms of the amount of social experience which a group possesses. If this store of experience is as yet small, the general group-reaction towards the challenges of life is still full of uncertainty, fear and hesitancy, and the imagination plays a much larger role in the mental group-pattern. Knowledge presupposes regular and ordered experiences that create assumed possibilities of control over future events. Forms of social organisation remain more simple in these stages, because technology is not sufficiently developed to permit complex social communication-patterns. Where communication remains limited, social organisation remains limited.

Only when group-experience in terms of knowledge increases, the larger possibilities of control over the social and natural environment lead to greater social complexity and a cumulative tendency in communication-patterns.

A final stage sets in when knowledge no longer increases, because the elasticity of the group-mind diminishes. Then new challenges are again met by emotional and imaginative responses of individuals or smaller groups, and not by the coordinated reaction of the group as a whole.

These stages, which obviously were sketched very briefly, had their impact on forms and intensity of communication.

As long as the reaction of a social group is strongly symbolic and imaginative, then imagination rather than a rational system dominates communication. While the very first forms of communication were undoubtedly directly emotional, as in the animal-world, and were expressed by sound rather than by words, the communication for long-term use had to take place via an appeal to the imagination via pictorial means. The most natural way to give a communication lasting form is to draw it,

and it is quite interesting to observe that this imaginative communication form has emerged once more in contemporary compensatory communication (cartoons and comic strips).

An early more rational system of communication consisted of the notched sticks, with the meaning of the notches memorized by the messenger, or the Peruvian Quipus, notched sticks with strings of varying color, much like the Wampum beads of the North American Indian.

However, these methods of communication were apart from the development of writing through the stages of pictorial writing (pictographs, ideographs and hieroglyphs), syllabaries and alphabets.

As soon as the symbol no longer transmitted an idea but a word, the appeal to the imagination was changed into a challenge to intellect and memory. Their further development, which use the same symbol for words which sounded alike, meant a further conventionalisation in communication because it lessened the impact of personal intonation, personal sound-expression, etc. The final shift to an alphabet, made by the Phoenicians, is well-known, and it is quite astounding that the alphabet which has been termed Man's greatest invention has continued practically unaltered through three thousand years even though it is only a rough approximation of what is conveyed in speech. This fact is all the more amazing if it is realized that the relation between spoken word and written word has changed progressively in the direction of the latter with the increasing complexity of culture-patterns until our own period increased the role of the spoken word via telephone, radio, film and television.

It may be noted in passing, that all communication obviously takes place via the senses; but, while the senses operate in a structural interrelationship in speaking or listening, reading may force this structural relationship somewhat out of its "natural" gears because the "eyes-brain"-connection might be more of a shortcut

than nature intended. However, this would be only one aspect of the emergence of new communication-patterns, and this subject could be treated more adequately only if more were known about the attributes of our mental need-structure.

Communication via the writing-reading patterns has undoubtedly meant an increase in the rationalized reactions of social groups, and a decrease in direct emotional and symbolic reaction. Written language is and has been used for both these purposes too, but their percentages of the total have decreased, and rational and conventionalized communication-forms have become increasingly dominant.

The transition from ideographic to phonetic writing, which has taken place almost everywhere, is undoubtedly due to the need for more complex communication-contents, and not to any transmission of culture which was not rooted in the need-structure of the social group in question.¹

Communication in writing was due to the need for long-term and long-distance communication, although the use of communication-forms is also related to the degree of cohesion of a social group. Social distance is the third dimension which must be considered in an analysis of communication-patterns. An increase in social distance causes communication to become formalized, and when social stratification-systems change or break down, the need for less-formalized or more direct communication comes to the fore again. Although this phenomenon is a general historical one, it has been of great impact in our own period, which witnessed social equalisation in many respects and, in addition, much stronger compensatory communication-forms than existed in preceding societies. All communication-forms which are typical for modern society, namely newspapers, periodicals, radio, television, escapist reading, etc. can be put under this compensatory aspect although it is not solely the greater social mobility and constantly shifting stratification-patterns which furnish the underlying motivation for their use. It is impor-

tant to realize that the control-group-mass of population relationship is also significant, and as a result, the contents of communication and absorbed communication by no means overlap. The mechanism which governs the connection between what people want to read and what they are given to read is a very haphazard one that operates mostly on the basis of trial and error.

Accepted social- distance and non-accepted social distance play a great role in this respect, and adjustment between these two takes place only via compromise in concrete situations. In simpler terms: writing-with-a-purpose only finds readers if the goals of the promotional social group and those of the prospective audience somewhere coincide. If this overlapping of goals does not occur, purposive writing takes place in a vacuum, nevertheless, it is frequently continued because it has become "status-behavior." Examples of this will easily come to the mind of the reader.

Although it is tempting to deal with the problems of communication-patterns in general, it is essential to return to the communication in written form and to determine the role that libraries play in regard to it.

The motivation for writing consists of the need for communication in terms of the three extended dimensions. This quality gives writing and its products social prestige, and this prestige is commensurate to the distances (time-space-social) involved. This is also the basis of the wish for preservation which expresses itself in monuments, museums and libraries. The monument to a deity, a prophet or a king is the most impressive place to record the cultural heritage of a social group. Its appeal is structural. It appeals to all our senses, while reading of inscriptions appeals to one sense only and, in early periods, was of value only to a small group.

As temples and palaces were the vehicles of long-term symbolic communication, they also became depositories of other types of communication, which needed preservation for smaller groups, and which were in the

realm of knowledge rather than of history and religion. The prestige which symbolic writing enjoyed was transferred to scientific writing, which received the same halo of the "sacred" even though in content and form it was a different type of communication.

When social complexity increased, a gradual separation of the various functions began to take place, though archives and libraries were not separated until later.

The library owed its origin to the need for knowledge, and it is this attribute which dominated its development, its organisation and its place in society. But the place of knowledge itself differs in a predominantly religious group; a group with a general culture-pattern; and a group of which the culture-pattern is predominantly socio-economic. The appreciation of the library shifts according to the evaluation which is placed on knowledge. The function of knowledge is defined by the value-system of each society, and in the case of national societies is often a compromise between the values of social sub-groups. It should be possible to sketch the intellectual and ideological background into which each library is fitted, but this can be attempted here only for certain categories of libraries.

While the socio-ideological setting of the library varies, its function is related to different types of society in different cultural stages. As was argued in some of the earlier chapters of this study, devotional reading is not a strong motive for the establishment of libraries, because devotion seeks a reiteration of the same values and does not lead to intellectual curiosity; culture-reading creates the library of the private collector, often gradually merging into a general or municipal library; achievement-reading has stimulated the research- and special library, while compensatory and recreational reading is a strong factor in the world of the public library. Culture- and achievement reading tend to accentuate social distance, while informational, compensatory and recreational reading are equalising factors. Their style tends to be popular while their

contents often show how the other half lives, used to live or is deemed to live. It could be argued, though not proved, that if the knowledge-motive had been absent, other social forms might have emerged for the latter types of reading. Once the associational link between books and libraries had been formed in the mental patterns of the leading social groups, the idea was also applied to the newer forms of reading, despite the fact that sociological analysis might point to alternate solutions.

In order to view this problem more clearly, it might be helpful to place communication-patterns under the different categories which have been used:

Patterns Of Communication

<u>Short Term (time, space, social)</u>	<u>Medium Term</u>	<u>Long Term</u>
Oral communication in day-to-day contacts.	Periodicals (General)	Religious works of wide acceptance.
Communication by telephone.	Newspapers (for general interest stories, editorial comment, news analysis).	Philosophy of a comparable type.
Communication by radio.	Compensatory literature.	Literature (Classics).
Newspapers in regard to spot news and short term news.	Recreational literature.	Leading scientific works.
Most letters, folders, postcards, advertising, etc., etc.	Schoolbooks (elementary, intermediary, higher education)	Classics of history, etc., etc.
	Literature, except classics	Recordings of good music
	Scientific books of short and medium range.	Recordings of leading speeches
	Government publications dealing with practical and	Informational materials: encyclopaedias, bibliographies, biographies, maps, etc.
		Legal codes.
		Leading legal treatises and

Patterns of Communication

<u>Short Term (time, space, social)</u>	<u>Medium Term</u>	<u>Long Term</u>
	short term problems. Publications of international agencies dealing with specific problems. Film and record collections of comparable materials.	case collections. Long term government publications. Long term documents of international agencies. Collections of materials most frequently read in a given period (for later analysis by history, the social sciences, etc.). Collections of recordings of "average"-conversations, telephone calls, letters, postcards (for culture analysis) Recordings of political meetings, mass demonstrations, riots, etc. Documentary material - Film library of comparable materials.

It is logical that in early cultural stages the long-term focus is of great importance while, as the life-span of a culture-group increases, medium and short-term communication gain in importance. On the other hand, increasing social complexity enlarges social distance. In this respect, cultural maturity means an increase in long-term communication-forms; horizontal spreading also takes place and this indicates an increase in the dimension of space. Thus, cultural growth in reality means

a spreading of interests - though perhaps a loss in emotional intensity - and this may explain why this process always shows renewed demands for purposive centralisation, integration and coordination. As culture develops, the individual may become more dependent on society in a general and abstract way, but his direct personal allegiance to individuals and smaller groups diminishes. These stages of increasing differentiation are often held back by retarding influences. Social growth is a very uneven process; the general trend, however, seems unmistakable.

If this process of increasing differentiation is held to be valid in regard to libraries, this would mean that there is increasingly less room for general principles and theories, and that the library should be analysed mainly in terms of its functions, which become more specific as culture progresses. Thus, in early cultural stages, the goals of the library are general, while in later stages, its purposes can be defined only in concrete terms which are based upon the relationship between materials and users.

While Antiquity developed the idea of culture-knowledge and science, the early Middle Ages considered reading as a method for moral and spiritual improvement. In the order of St. Benedict,² communal reading took place during and after the meals "fratres sedentes omnes in unum" and maintaining "summum silentium." Private reading was ordained for the early morning hours and for the rest period of the afternoon, and occupied some 3-4 hours daily. At the beginning of the fast, a ceremonial distribution of the manuscripts took place. The librarian allocated one manuscript to each monk for reading from cover to cover. There was no question of profane literature. "Lectio" and "meditatio" are considered to be the same. The monks were not permitted to own books, so the library was the only source. This required extensive copying as the number of monks grew. There were few authors in the library, but their works were present in many copies.

The famous Isidor of Sevilla was the first one to

write about libraries of the Middle Ages in his "De libris et officiis ecclesiasticis." He begins with an analysis of the term "bibliotheca," deals with the history of libraries back to biblical Esau, and then analyses types of books and problems of copying. In the library of Sevilla fifteen sections consisted of: 1-2, Bibles; 3-9, Churchfathers; 10, Christian poets; 11, Historians; 12-13, Contemporary writers; 14, Jurists. Of Antiquity only the jurists are represented, the poets were taboo. Works were listed only according to categories and not individually. Books on medicine were kept in the apothecary, which was adorned with pictures of Galen and Hippocrates

In 1289, at the Sorbonne in Paris, a division of the library took place, and this division continued until the printed book made its entrance. It separated the library into the "libraria magna" and the "libraria parva." The books in the "Libraria magna" were generally accessible for reading, and were customarily chained. The "Libraria parva" was for lending and contained duplicates as well as less important works. In 1388, there were 1722 Ms. in the library of the Sorbonne: 330 in the "Libraria magna" and 1090 in the "Libraria parva."

Gradually the status-factor began to increase in importance. Christine de Pisan, poet at the court of Charles V, the Wise, (1364-1380) wrote about the "glorious collection of valuable books and beautiful library which the King possessed." "All were beautifully written and richly decorated. The best copyists were always at work for the King. The library room was dignified and efficiently arranged as the King liked beauty and order in everything."³

The further development of the library received strong impetus from the work of Petrarca and that of Richard de Bury (1289-1345), the author of *Philobiblon*. These two exemplified the changing attitudes of the period: de Bury represented the Middle Ages and its rigid learning, while Petrarca was the humanist who despised the learning of the Schoolmen. De Bury was a book-

collector; Petrarca a book-lover who was inspired by content as well as by appearance. But de Bury had more influence, due to his higher position, and he aroused great interest by keeping so many books around that his visitors could hardly enter his rooms.

Richard de Bury was accused of having an "Amor extaticus" of books, and in order to defend himself against the accusation of sin, he wrote his celebrated treatise. It was his goal to collect a library for Oxford, for the promotion of study and devotion. Nothing came of this plan, and his 1500 books disappeared in various directions.

In the fourteenth century, nobles and jurists began to establish libraries, but they remained small.

The emotional interest which books aroused is well illustrated by Petrarca. The acquisition of Homer was one of the great joys of his life even though he was unable to read Greek. Merely the sight of these works was inspiring to him in his letter to the donator, he informs him how he always again takes up the volume and, with a sigh, exclaims: "O magne vir, quam cupide te audirem".⁴

In other European countries, also Renaissance and Humanism caused the establishment of libraries. The famous Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus (1450-1490) wanted to make a second Italy of his homeland, and established one of the most famous libraries of this period in Buda, together with a university. In Poland Gregor of Samok created the library at the University of Cracow which is still well-known at the present time. In the countries of the Reformation, municipal libraries frequently took over the book-treasures of the convents. This is one of the reasons why the municipal libraries shoed early development in the Germanic countries. In other cases, the libraries of princes and nobles profited from the reduction in the holdings of convents.

The idea of the "Bibliotheca universalis" gave rise to a more intensive occupation with the problems of li-

brary organisation. Konrad Gesner, the founder of modern bibliography, advocated a catalogue in three parts: alphabetical, with short bibliographical annotations about the authors; classified, consisting of 21 major sections; and by subject, as a refinement of the classified catalogue.

Special fame was acquired by Gabriel Naudé's treatise "*Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque*" (1627). Naudé's ideal library was to include entertainment literature and was to be open to the public and "*de facile entree.*" Johana Heinrich Hottinger similarly advocated in his *Bibliothecarius quadripartitus*⁵ (1664) that libraries should not attempt to be too selective, but that it was better to catch the small fish with the big ones than to miss some of the latter.

When Rationalism and Enlightenment began to approach their peak in the 18th century, the aspect of universality increasingly gained in importance. Knowledge became more quantitative in its orientation, so that it became more necessary to collect many different kinds of data and types of information. Yet when the center of these activities began to move from the royal and municipal libraries to the university libraries, there was still argument as to whether a university needed a library or whether the reading of prescribed texts was preferable. Learning was not exclusively centered in the universities: the erudite private person with a well-developed personal library played an important role, which has continued to the present time. In Germany of the 18th century, there were over 200 private libraries which totalled 20-30,000 volumes.

The collecting of books was a typical development of this period: erudition gave social status and a good private library was an important social attribute. The successful artisan followed the lead of princes and nobles, as did merchants and professional groups. The library was "*bon ton*," but possession was not sufficient: real interest in the collection was considered essential, and it was necessary for developing skill in conversation, which was admired. Thus, selectivity was still

an essential attribute of the library although universality cropped up as an ideal.

The latter idea was strongly advocated by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz who advocated the issue of a semi-annual collection of books (*nucleus librarius semestralis*) while these lists were to accumulate into an "inventory of the human knowledge contained in books" (*inventarium scientia humanae libris proditae*).⁶ In 1676 Leibniz was appointed librarian and historiographer at Hanover. Later he assumed the directorship of the Wolfenbüttel library. At the latter institution he was responsible for the creation of an alphabetic catalogue. In spite of the ideal of universality, Leibniz measured the value of a library by the quality of its books rather than by their number. He was averse to books which were devoid of sense despite superficial learnedness. The classification of libraries was to be according to faculties (university) and professions while, in addition to the alphabetical catalogue, he wanted a chronological arrangement by year of publication and subject indexes arranged by catchword.⁷

The ideas of Leibniz influenced the organisation of the University library of Göttingen, which was one of the leading institutions of the period and had much influence on German scholarship.

The French revolution brought the confiscation in 1789 of church libraries and the collections of emigrants also became state property. This meant an increase in the new state and municipal collections, such as the Arsenal, the Mazarin Library and the Bibliothèque Nationale which received 300,000 books and many valuable manuscripts from institutions like St. Germain-des-Prés and the Sorbonne. In Germany, too, confiscation of the libraries of churches and convents meant the enrichment of state and municipal libraries.

The increase in the size of libraries brought many problems in regard to their administration. The German librarian Schrettinger stated in one of his writings that "to dispel the chimera of detailed technique is to

lay the foundation of a genuine library science."⁸

In histories of libraries, the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century are generally characterized as the period in which the quantitative factor began to dominate the development of libraries, partially as a concomitant of increasing populations and an increasing belief in centralisation.

The Library of Congress, for instance, increased from 800,000 volumes in 1897 to over 6,000,000 volumes by 1939 and to more than 10,000,000 at present. The growing size led again to the need for specialized collections, such as those in Slavic and Oriental languages, collections of music, maps and prints, manuscripts and rare books, and the Hispanic foundation collections. Special services, such as reference and bibliographical services, the Union Catalogue and the Photoduplication Service became necessary. Many libraries of more than a million volumes were built up in the United States in the past century.

The same trend was evident in other countries. In pre-war Germany Berlin had a State-Library of more than 3,000,000 volumes, while other Berlin libraries together had more than 8,000,000 volumes. The Bavarian State Library at Munich reached more than 2,000,000 volumes while the Vienna National Library and the University Library of Vienna each possessed more than a million books.

The Bibliothèque Nationale of France is among the largest in the world, and the other libraries of Paris total more than 8,000,000 volumes.

The story is repeated for the National Libraries in Florence and Rome, for the Ambrosian Library at Milan and for the Vatican Library. The Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, and the Low Countries all have similar developments to record. In the U.S.S.R., the Leningrad Public Library and the Lenin Memorial Library have grown to gigantic size, claiming to equal the largest libraries of the Western World, and coun-

tries like China and India are following along the same path.

Nationalism and the increasing need for the democratisation of knowledge were the two factors that motivated this development. Consequently, the national and the public libraries profited most, followed by university and specialized libraries.

As those trends have been analyzed many times, it might be worthwhile to investigate how far these dominant principles are still valid around the middle of the twentieth century, and to determine whether other principles have emerged which might give direction to the future development of libraries.

While the early growth of libraries was dominated by rather clear-cut principles, namely the preservation of materials which were important within the framework of the cultural value-system, some confusion has resulted from the fact that printing is no longer reserved for these types of communications which are aimed at long-term goals but has become increasingly customary as a means for "horizontal" communication. The underlying assumption that books deserve to be preserved because whatever is printed is in itself important does not hold true for the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

Prior to that period, a certain selectivity was assured because the library served the interests of the educated classes which had definite opinions about the relative merits of printed works and the need for their preservation. The spread of general education and the tremendous increase in printed materials has placed the problem of the need for preservation into totally different perspective.

The original assumption that printing was reserved for essential types of communication no longer holds true, and this makes it necessary to re-examine the function of the library in regard to these materials. In addition, the scientific method is no longer reserved for

limited aspects of human existence, but is applied to practically everything under the sun. This has led to the idea that the preservation of almost everything is essential because it might become the subject of scientific inquiry. Although this assumption is part of the accepted value-system of our society, it nevertheless cannot be overlooked that under certain conditions a withdrawal from reality is innate in the scientific approach. It needs types of materials rather than all materials, but the great difficulty lies in determining what types are to be retained as such.

One approach to this problem is to distinguish long-term-, medium-term- and short-term-materials. These categories assume different functions for different types of libraries and, while any general formulation of them may be of little value, they become quite concrete for each specific library. Each library can re-examine its function in the light of these categories and determine relative holding periods for different types of materials. This would make the relation reading materials - readers a more functional one, although the criterion of readers' needs would not be the determining one. Some more objective criterion is needed because readers' needs might have too specific a focus from the long-term viewpoint.

But some compromise has to be struck between universality and selectivity. This compromise seems to lie in the realisation that the library has the function of long-term preservation of those materials which have long-term significance, whether this be interpreted in terms of time, space or social distance. Other materials deserve preservation only as representing types: i.e., textbooks of physics of the 18th century, but not all textbooks. From the viewpoint of a specific library, it is not too difficult to distinguish the typical from the atypical, and, in daily library practice, these yardsticks are used constantly though they have not received universal recognition.

In addition, such a principle might be of great value for aid to less-developed countries. If the li-

braries of the leading countries were prompt in discarding works that are not needed for long-term preservation, they could be used for libraries in earlier stages of development. A textbook which was published five years ago might no longer be used in country A, but be of considerable value to country B.

Global library-planning would be essential, and, if it were viewed structurally, considerable results could be achieved in a short time. National or regional competition for universality would probably fall far behind essential requirements because that leads to "clustering" rather than "spreading." As long as libraries are part of national status-desires, they will be over- and underdeveloped, rather than "developed" in the functional meaning of the word. Their functional purpose is to preserve those long-term or medium-term materials which are essential to the needs of the readers, with due regard for the fact that coming generations may have different needs so that all types of materials should be represented, but not all materials.

This means that the problem of turnover should receive increased attention as against that of accumulation. In regard to large national and university libraries, this problem is a difficult one, but it is essential for medium-libraries which cannot count on constantly increasing budgets. Administrative and processing expenditures show the highest yield if the materials in a library reach a high percentage of usage, and the turnover becomes unfavorable if unused materials accumulate.

Even in bibliographies the distinction between long and short term publications might be useful in order to prevent bibliographies from becoming unwieldy. Once the essential bibliographical data are available, there is increasing room for selective rather than general bibliographies.

This tends to indicate that a change in the thinking about libraries is probable. The appreciation of libraries in various cultural stages has varied, and there is

no reason to assume that the attitude of the late 19th century will be permanent. It was too much the outcome of a rationalistic philosophy which is no longer regarded as valid. Its view of the social function of knowledge was an exaggerated one, and it becomes increasingly evident that, in the long run, it is equilibrium rather than progress for which we should aim. A philosophy of social equilibrium places a less heavy stress on the function of rational knowledge, but it is more aware of our emotional and spiritual needs. We need a simpler world rather than a more complex one.

Notes

- 1 Cp. Kurt Sohte, *Der Ursprung des Alphabets*. Berlin, 1926; William Albert Mason, *A history of the art of writing*, New York, 1920; and Edward Clodd, *The story of the alphabet*. London, 1911.
- 2 For this and the following passages see: *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft*. Dritter Band. *Geschichte der Bibliotheken*. Leipzig, 1940, p. 98 ff.
- 3 op. cit. p. 258
- 4 op. cit. p. 289
- 5 op. cit. p. 467
- 6 p. 71 in Alfred Hessel, *A history of libraries*. Translated, with supplementary material by Reuben Peiss, Washington, D.C. Scarecrow Press, 1950.
- 7 Cp. Hessel, op. c.p. 72 and John L. Thornton, *The Chronology of Librarianship*, London, 1941.
- 8 op. cit. p. 80

Chapter X.

The Function Of Books And Libraries In Contemporary Culture-Patterns

There is no agreement on the list of contemporary culture-patterns. Dividing the world simply into a Western and an Eastern bloc is undoubtedly an oversimplification. The cultural foundation of the various civilisational areas into which our world is divided require recognition of American civilisation, European civilisation, Communist civilisation, the civilisation of India, Moslem civilisation, and the civilisation of Latin-America. Whether China should be allotted a separate place, is a problem that cannot be decided at the present time. The civilisation of Japan would merit a distinct place in many respects, but for the purpose of this study it can be regarded as a Westernised civilisation.

The great importance which is attached to books and libraries, particularly in regard to achievement-knowledge, is undoubtedly rooted in the development of Western civilisation of the past three or four centuries. Technology and science have made reading a necessary attribute of whole nations instead of a prerogative of leading groups. It is also obvious that the development has been cumulative; since reading has been considered essential since the middle of the 19th century, it has become important generically rather than specifically. It has become a habit in Western Man, which has a definite structure of its own and which, if seen in this way, did not develop in the same fashion in the other civilisations. The emergence of this habit because of the growth of knowledge in the exact and technical sciences has been far more gradual in the Western countries than in those which have attempted to achieve a

similar development in a much shorter time and which have superimposed it by force or conviction or a combination of both on different social systems.

The process of growth has been very gradual in Western Europe and the role of knowledge has been evaluated in all its relationships. The devotional attitude of the Middle Ages, which led to ascetic behavior-forms, was never completely lost in Western Europe. Knowledge is, therefore, evaluated within a wider cultural framework that places artistic and intellectual development on a higher scale than purely materialistic achievements. In an age in which social development in the technical sense has become "accelerated," this more balanced approach may be detrimental to Western Europe, but, on the other hand, the relation to knowledge in its various aspects is more deeply ingrained in the European than in adherents of more recent civilisations, and this may mean a considerable advantage in regard to long-term developments. Knowledge is not an outer but an inner factor in the European mind, and this makes it possible to place the development of knowledge side by side with that of art and philosophy, without making the latter subservient to the former. The success of the rationalistic approach may have led to an overestimation of the social impact of centralised organisation, but in philosophy and the social sciences of the past fifty years, a number of Western scholars have pointed clearly to the limits of rationalism and its social concomitants. It is also quite important that in the Western world economic growth preceded political growth, while a reversal of this process is taking place in many of the other civilisations.

The interrelation between philosophy, social sciences, exact science, literature and art differs in various countries but, on the whole, it can be said that Western-European civilisation has attempted to preserve their relative autonomy as much as possible and to guard them against an excessive impact of economic or political factors. The economic factors are gaining in weight, but governments are striving, at least in theory, to use their increased influence to aid intellectual and artistic life

without putting limitations on its form or expression.

The European pattern of civilisation is the most diversified one, so it furnishes the best laboratory for the observation of the interrelationships of book-production, book-reading and libraries. All types of writing, all forms of reading and all types of libraries can be found in Western Europe and, if the statistics in earlier chapters can be relied upon, it occupies an important place in these fields.

The number of bookshops in many European towns is astonishingly large and testifies how deeply ingrained the habit of reading has become, in spite of the competition of radio, television, films, travel and outdoor sports. In fact, each new activity finds an echo in the world of writing and reading and adds perhaps more than it subtracts. The average ratio of activity of the individual differs in the various civilisations, and writing and reading seem to reach the highest relative emphasis in those civilisations which combine a satisfactory standard of living with a high degree of cultural diversity. This cultural diversity seems to increase after cultures may have passed their peak of outward power, as the concentration of the building of socio-economic power involves a concentration on certain aspects of life rather than on life in all its possible forms. On the other hand, while there is no doubt that increasing social complexity favors writing in the fields of achievement-knowledge, it may limit the available reading-time of the average person.

Esdaile's 'National Libraries of the World'¹ contains 21 chapters of which 14 deal with Western Europe; one with the U.S.A.; two with the U.S.S.R. and satellite-countries; three with Latin-America; one with China and one with Japan. In his 'Famous Libraries of the World', Volume II², he deals with 3 libraries in England; 1 in the Irish Free State; 7 in France; 4 in Germany; 1 in Greece; 4 in Italy; 3 in Spain and Portugal. Thus he treats a total of 23 in Western-Europe, while his description of other libraries deals with 3 in Canada, Australia and New Zealand; 1 in Poland; 1 in the

U.S.S.R.; 6 in the U.S.A. or a total of 11.³

Libraries which can be traced back to the Middle Ages are few in number: the Sainte Geneviève in Paris, the Jagiellonska in Cracow and the University Library of Cambridge. The Laurenziana at Florence, a creation of the Medici, belongs to the Renaissance. It is the New Era which saw the creation of the great national and university libraries of which pontiffs and kings were often the sponsors. In the 19th and 20th centuries many libraries originated through the initiative of wealthy men, like the John Rylands Library at Manchester, the Gennadeion at Athens, etc. and the large numbers due to the activities of Andrew Carnegie.

The pattern of libraries in Europe is of great variety and richness, and this is not so astonishing if one reflects that the greatest flowering of European culture coincided with the development of printing and the growth of the national sciences which sired the entire process of the tremendous increase in achievement-knowledge.

Although the largest libraries in Europe may be falling behind the largest institutions of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., the total holdings of Western Europe, as well as its share in book-production and book-reading, represent a mature culture that is profiting from a long period of creative growth.

In the United States two major determinants of European culture are absent: the legacy of the Middle Ages and the traditions of Renaissance and Humanism which did much to shape the cultural ideals of Western Europe. Nevertheless it is useful to realize that Harvard is not much younger than the Bodleian in Oxford and that Yale preceded the British Museum.⁴ Early interest in the U.S. was predominantly religious: the beginning of Harvard in 1638 was due to a legacy of the Reverend Mr. John Harvard, consisting of 400 volumes, mostly made up of Bible commentary, Puritan sermons and Jesuit authors. Until the end of the 18th century the total number of books was no more than 13,000, of

which about a quarter were theological. In the 19th century, a very rapid increase started, resulting in doubling the collection about every 20 years.⁵

The Yale University Library started in 1701. It grew very slowly, and in 1755 had only reached a total of 3,000. Eleven years later the President wrote: "We have a good library consisting of about 4,000 volumes, well furnished with ancient authors, such as the Fathers, Historians and Classicks, many modern valuable books of Divinity, History, Philosophy and Mathematics, but not many authors who have wrote within these thirty years."⁶ At the end of the 19th century, the library had not reached the 100,000 mark. From the turn of the century to date the Library increased from about 100,000 to about 2,500,000 volumes, a rate of increase which is typical of development in the United States. It shows that from a starting point that was much lower than the European one, the final totals are comparable and higher. This means that the rate of progress of the past 50 years has often been greater in the United States than in Western Europe. This would tend to confirm a positive correlation between library growth and the total rate of social growth of a society.

We find a similar development in the Boston Public Library. In 1900 its collection stood at about 600,000 volumes, but in 1935 it had risen to 1,700,000. The New York Public Library recorded 461,000 volumes in 1896, and at present it is near the 5 million mark. Many special collections have been built up in the great American libraries which often surpass the European libraries of the present time.

Older and rare materials also made their way in increasing numbers to the United States. A good example of this trend is furnished by the Henry E. Huntington Library in California which is a rival of the European libraries in the possession of early printed books and manuscript materials.

The greatest contribution of the U.S. undoubtedly lies in the democratisation of the library, which has

become an indispensable public institution and which is increasingly geared to the needs of the public. The rapid growth of American libraries in the last 60-80 years is due to the value which is attached to general education and to knowledge. These motives are perhaps stronger in the United States than in Europe because they form a unifying element in a strongly heterogeneous society. Education is supposed to mould the American into a citizen while knowledge furnishes the key to "status" in an industrialized society. That education and knowledge are "good" is a standard belief of American society, and except for some religious sects, few ideologies or philosophies have been developed on American soil which doubt these tenets. The idea that "knowledge" is not a goal in itself is also alien to the mentality of the American. Here again one could point to exceptions as, for instance, the fact that American literature loves the portrayal of strong impulses and emotions and generally does not burden its characters with the restraining influences of knowledge. These are compensatory phenomena which do not alter the general belief in socio-economic progress that is buttressed by the assumption that this progress automatically includes greater emotional happiness of the individual. As increasing social complexity increases the tensions in the individual, this belief is not wholly warranted and is contradicted by the countless compensatory activities, which are deemed to be tension-reducing and which are much more common in the United States than in Europe.

Whether the dynamic attributes of the U.S. - in regard to the social hierarchy as well as to space - favor reading is a difficult question. The greater social mobility and the assumption of social equality, contradicted by the actual complexity of the social hierarchy, cause an active interest in what other people are doing, but this need leads more to newspaper and magazine reading than to book-reading. The thirst for education is different, but education reflects the pragmatic atmosphere of the country and, although it favors reading, it does not place too heavy a stress on serious reading.

Status-competition works as a motive for specialized reading, and this perhaps explains partially why the American Public Library is often a more serious institution than its European counterpart. It is an advantage of the pragmatic attitude that reading is recognized as a generic habit and is encouraged in the young. At the same time the strong stress on individual liberty may cause much of what is published to cater to a low level of taste, which is becoming increasingly standardized.

The love for technology has resulted in a tendency to have processing procedures, administrative organization, planning of lay-out, etc., play a large role in American library-life, and this is reflected in the role that topics of this nature play in library education. The librarian is becoming a technician who organizes the tools of knowledge, rather than a scholar. This trend is counterbalanced by specialisation, and by the expert who acts as adviser or consultant. But the book-lover of the Renaissance and the passionate adherent of knowledge in its most general forms are disappearing from the American as well as from the European scene.

The requirement of conformity which is innate in a highly complex society has more influence on what is read than on the quantity of reading. It favors the compensatory reaction of portraying extreme emotional individualism; it may, occasionally, also favor an extremely individualistic and even obscure style. There is the danger that these reactions will be lost in the overwhelming quantities of conformist writing, which, however, is limited by the law of diminishing reader's interest. Society, if left alone, tends to find its own equilibrium. In so far as it is guided, our conscious efforts should go in the direction of greater individuality and decentralisation. In society itself, there are extremely powerful centripetal forces which need a purposive counter-balancing. This means that literary writing, the personal library, the small community-center deserve encouragement, and that our social problems will not be solved only by large publishing enterprises or by large-scale libraries. In the latter insti-

tutions, there are marked tendencies towards decentralisation, and it is even conceivable that the various categories of reading may eventually influence library organisation.

If quality plays a determining role in library policy, the characterisation of a library which was given by Ramsey MacDonald in 1930 would hold true: 'I don't want you to consider a library as a collection of books. A library is a dwelling-place of great genius and powerful minds and spirits. Walk into a library.... there will be some sentiment that will come into your minds - you will feel that you ought to take the shoes off your feet because the ground you are treading upon is holy ground.... then take down your book. Are you in search of knowledge? There you will find it. Are you in search of chaste imagination? There you will find it. Do you want wings to soar away above the sordid circumstances in which so many of you are doomed to live? There you will find them. Do you want stimulus to your faith when the world is at its darkest, when you seem to be against nothing but immovable hard fate? Come and find companionship amongst the faithful minds who dreamed, who divined, who wrote, and, who, in dying, underwent a new revelation on account of the permanent and eternal richness of mind and thought that they left as an inheritance to the people who come after them.'⁷

This clearly states that the lasting value of writing lies in its being predominantly a form of individual expression that touches responsive chords in other individuals. Writing that meets this criterion is becoming an increasingly smaller percentage of the total of writing. Libraries, through their purchasing policies, could do much to discourage conventional and conformist writing.

The dangers which threaten the Western countries are reality in the Communist world in which the realm of the individual has been narrowed down to the lowest social limit. There are indeed limits to the influence of control-groups over the masses of the population, and it is ultimately the human need-structure which is

the underlying guiding force in our society and not the formulated wishes of leaders.

If pressures are exerted which go beyond the socially acceptable, reactions set in and each concrete social condition is the resultant between the strivings of control-groups and the response which they elicit from the masses. The "socially acceptable" is, however, not a constant, but depends on cultural conditions in general.

A dynamic group, with strongly centralized control, can elicit stronger responses than a static group which aims at preservation rather than change. As communism is the ideology which favors complete centralisation in its effort to create a power-economy, it automatically has to place the greatest value on 'knowledge,' while it tends to underestimate emotional and spiritual values. This gives it a compulsory attribute which automatically leads to efforts for compensation which must be taken into account by the control-group.

This interaction is quite evident in some aspects of library-development in the U.S.S.R. Although natural science and political materials form a somewhat higher percentage of library collections in the U.S.S.R. than in the western countries, there is also a strong need for culture- and compensatory reading.

The great writers of Russian literature, of which some, like Dostoiefski, were banned, have all returned to the scene, and in countries such as Poland, where a liberalisation of policy set in, there is strong interest in Western compensatory literature, such as detective-stories and novels, which are normally considered a sign of Western degeneracy.

But the mechanisms of society even operate if they are ignored, and there is little doubt that the ideological streamlining of a society counteracts the need for diversity which automatically arises in mechanical and industrialized societies. Thus, while the need for compensation in art has been denounced in Communist countries,

efforts to restrict art ideologically have not yielded any great results. This is the case because they overlook the strong underlying need for compensation, which becomes stronger, the more rigidly controlled and centralized a society is.

The two factors together - the officially and ideologically stressed need for knowledge and the reluctantly recognized need for compensatory and culture-reading - operate towards the aggrandizement of libraries, and the factor of "national prestige" also works in that direction. Libraries in the U.S.S.R. are striving to be the largest in the world, and, in this respect at least, the combination of motives leads to a positive result although accelerated purposive development will undoubtedly lead to one-sidedness, as has been observed in the accelerated development in some Western countries. The problem of a satisfactory functional relationship between materials and readers is a technical one which will show itself beyond a certain point of accumulation. However, since the development is a recent one, it has the advantage to be able to profit from the experiences of other countries.

In addition, it must be stressed that there were many valuable libraries in the Communist countries prior to the turn to Communism, which is itself of different intensity in the various countries.

As reading in pre-revolutionary Russia was restricted to a small group (in 1897 70.7% of the male and 87% of the female population was illiterate), the growth of libraries was slow, and did not really get under way until the 18th century. Two known collections, namely the Academy of Sciences in Petersburg (1914 about 500,000 volumes) and the Imperial Public Library in Petersburg (1914 about 2 million volumes) date from this period.⁸ The Library of the Rumiancov Museum in Moscow which had about a million volumes prior to World War I has become the national library; the Lenin Library.

The revolution brought a feverish increase in book-

production, number and size of libraries, staff, readers, etc. In the early period after the revolution, the production of political pamphlets was enormous. Legal deposit in 45 copies⁹ made for rapid increase of the major libraries. The Book-Center in Moscow publishes lists of all new publications (Kniznaia Letopis) and many additional lists for periodical articles, reviews, music, maps, etc.

According to official statistics there were 34,000 public libraries in 1934. Scientific and research libraries have been estimated at 16,000 at the same date. Every factory, every union, labor-group, youth-group, army group has its own library, but it must be noted that they frequently possess many copies of the same publication. The Lenin Library in Moscow, and the Library of the Academy of Sciences are among the largest libraries in the world.

A communist system of classification has been devised, and the printing of cards has been centralized. Library education has been organized on various levels, and higher library education takes place in Moscow, Charkov and Leningrad. University and special libraries are well developed. Among the latter, mention should be made of the Library of the Communist Academy (1918, over 1 million volumes); the Library of the State Historical Museum (1.2 million volumes) the Library of the Marx-Engels Institute (700,000 volumes) and the Central Medical Library (516,000 volumes), all in Moscow.¹⁰

In the Ukraine and White-Russia, national libraries have been developed, namely in Minsk for White-Russia and in Kiev for the Ukraine. The State Library in Minsk had about 1.5 million volumes in the 1930's while the Ukranian National Library had 2.5 million volumes in 1933.¹¹ The University libraries of Odessa (1,258,000 volumes), Charkov (740,000) and those of Kiev (700,000) are well-developed. National libraries have also been developed in Tiflis for Georgia; in Eri-san the Soviet-Armenian Library, and in Baku for Asserbaidjan. The famous library of the convent

Etschmiadsin, in the Caucasus region, has become state-property. There is also a Turkmenian Library in Aschschabod and a State Library in Alma Ata. There are older libraries in Taschkent, while Siberia has large university libraries in Tomsk and Irkutsk. The book-center for the Pacific region is in Chabavorsk.¹²

In regard to the production of printed materials, the Soviet Encyclopaedia¹³ gives the following data: in 1913 859 newspapers with a daily edition of 2,729 million copies; in 1946 over 7,000 newspapers with 26.6 million copies; number of languages in 1913 24, in 1946 70. There are 26 general newspapers, for the entire region of the Soviet Union, while 4,283 newspapers are listed as municipal and country newspapers. In 1946 960 periodicals appeared, inclusive of bulletins and annuals, in an edition of 104.5 million copies. Of the total of printed pages, 38.7% was used by political and economic journals, 4.4% by technical and 25.3% by literary journals.

In 1913 0.7 books were published per capita; in 1939 this figure was 4.1. Between 1918 and 1946 859,000 books and pamphlets were published in a total of 10.7 billion copies. 119 languages are represented.

"A dominant place is occupied by political and economic literature. Its share in 1946 amounted to almost 38% of the total output of book-production.

The average figures give no impression, however, of the actual sizes of the largest editions. Thus the total editions of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin up to the year 1947 amounted to 716 million copies of which 589.4 million were in Russian and over 126.6 million in other languages, over 12 million in languages other than those of the Soviet Republics."

The history of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union appeared in 61 languages, in more than 117 million copies, in a short version. The collected works of Lenin and Stalin appeared in editions of more than 500,000 copies.

In regard to the republication of non-Russian classics, the following data for the period 1918-1947 merit attention: Aristoteles 91,300 copies; Hegel 230,500; Voltaire 230,600; Descartes 213,600; Spinoza 55,200; Darwin 281,700; Newton 54,000; Leibniz 11,000; Pasteur 27,000; Einstein 48,000. The Great Soviet Encyclopaedia itself appeared, in 66 volumes, in an edition of 45,000 copies; the small one in 2 editions of 100,000 each.

The regulation concerning "stable textbooks" resulted in the publication of 1.116 billion textbooks for the period 1933-45.

In regard to literature, the following non-Russian authors appear on the list of large editions:¹⁴ Balzac, Barbusse, Byron, Cervantes, Dickens, France, Goethe, Heine, Hugo, Maupassant, Rolland, Schiller, Shakespeare, Stendhal, and Zola. Of these the largest editions were: V. Hugo (4,139,000 in 41 languages), G. Maupassant (3,976,000 in 16 languages), E. Zola (2,573,000 in 13 languages), Dickens (2,287,000 in 15 languages), R. Rolland (2,107,000 in 16 languages). Shakespeare stands at 1,611,000 copies in 20 languages while Byron closes the ranks with 499,000 copies in 8 languages.¹⁵

Publishing itself is specialized by topics as is evident from the names of the publishing bodies (f.i. Gospolisdat, Goslitisdat, Selchosgis, etc.). In Moscow alone there were 545 publishing agencies which brought out 3,797 titles in 1939 or about 7 titles per agency.¹⁶

The above-mentioned data from the Soviet Encyclopaedia seem to confirm what was stressed in the preceding section: a preponderance of "focussed" writing; purposive guidance of readers' choice; a more direct influence of libraries on readers' habits, the library as an agency for general controlled reading rather than as a complementary factor in addition to book-buying. Whether the data given are reliable is difficult to ascertain, but they serve as useful comparative material.

In regard to libraries, the "UNESCO Bulletin for

Libraries," Vol. VIII, No. 5/6, 1954 gives the following later information on the Soviet Union:

The Central Statistical Office reported that at the beginning of 1939 there were 240,756 libraries containing 442 million books; and by the end of 1953 380,000 libraries with 1,000 million volumes. Among this number were 285,000 rural libraries. The 1950-1955 plan for the development of libraries is designed to increase the number by 30 per cent."

Libraries are classified under the following six groups: State public libraries, libraries of the Academy of Sciences, autonomous special libraries, university libraries, mass libraries (school and children's libraries, rural libraries, soldiers' libraries, motorized libraries, etc.) and trade union libraries.

The State Public libraries include national, provincial, regional or municipal libraries which receive copies of every published book under the copyright law. The most important one, the Lenin Library in Moscow, possessed over 15 million volumes in 1952 and was increasing at the rate of 600,000 a year. The Saltykov-Sevdrin National Library in Leningrad publishes the General Catalogue of Russian books and is known for its possession of historical documents.

Schools for training qualified librarians exist at the university libraries of Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov and other institutions. The courses require four years and provide the librarian with complete university preparation. Lecturing ability is a required qualification as the librarian has to give lectures at the literary and cultural evenings. The studies are mostly pursued at different schools so that the student becomes acquainted with various parts of the country. In the scholastic year 1949-50, 15,000 students were registered at these institutions.

In regard to other culture-areas, ambitions often run far ahead of realities, and, as a result, the development is often very uneven. India had some good

libraries prior to its independence. The National Library, for instance, existed as the Imperial Library in Calcutta, and there were university libraries in Calcutta, Allahabad, Lahore, Bombay and Madras. Special libraries of note were the Oriental Research Institute in Poona and the Government Oriental Library in Mysore. Temples and convents often possessed noteworthy collections of religious literature, while the public library movement originated in Baroda, and received impetus from the UNESCO sponsored public library at New Delhi. At present, all types of libraries are being energetically developed in India, but the complexity of the linguistic pattern poses many difficulties.

In Pakistan there is now the nucleus of a national library service.¹⁷ At the centre is the National Library, and functionally related to it (in a somewhat undefined way) a Central Secretariat Library which in its turn has a loosely defined relationship to the many departmental libraries. More fully developed than many of the departmental libraries and far better housed than most is the Constituent Assembly Library.¹⁸

The National Library has about 20,000 books in open access. A vast governmental and university city is planned on the outskirts of Karachi which will include a large national library. A National Library Directorate would plan and coordinate all forms of Library development, including public and academic libraries. A library school is part of this library plan.

In Burma there are also plans for a large cultural center, and there is the nucleus of a national library, consisting of 8,000 or 10,000 books.

In China, the library movement received its impetus from the national awakening in 1911. Most libraries kept special departments for Chinese and Western publications with the latter generally small. The Peking National Library, the largest library in the People's Republic contains, according to a note in the UNESCO Bulletin for Libraries, item 375, in July 1954, over 2.5 million books in Chinese and foreign languages. It

was founded on the basis of the royal libraries of the Ming (1368-1644) and Ching (Manchu, 1644-1911) dynasties and formally opened in 1912.

Many books are received by regular exchanges with libraries in 14 countries in Europe, Asia and America, the biggest exchange being with Soviet libraries. The library is very rich in rare books, including manuscripts of the fifth century and wood block prints of the ninth century.

In addition to the general reading service which serves about 1,000 readers daily, the library regularly sponsors lectures and exhibitions. It has also arranged to supply books to 733 organizations, mining and industrial enterprises, army units, schools and other libraries within and around Peking. Mobile libraries are organized for the people in the outskirts of the city.

The Provincial Libraries have been important as depositories of classical Chinese learning while Western publications were to be found in the university libraries. At present an accelerated development has set in which is modelled after the U.S.S.R. and has set staggering quantitative goals.

In the Near and Middle East, there are interesting older libraries, like the temple of Imām Rida in Medsched in Iran; modern libraries are being developed in Turkey, Palestine and Egypt.

In Latin-America, the stress has been on national and university libraries, but public libraries are coming to the fore in Argentine, Brazil, Colombia and Mexico.

Regional development is more interesting than national distribution. According to the statistical data compiled by UNESCO in "Basic Facts and Figures" of April, 1954, the picture is as follows:

	Population (in millions)	No. of books in libraries (in millions)	Pro head of popula- tion
Africa	203	8	0.04
America, N.	225	388	1.7
America, S.	115	24	0.2
Asia (exclusive of U.S.S.R.)	1300	50	0.037
Europe (exclusive of U.S.S.R.)	400	341	0.9
Oceania	14	8	0.6
U.S.S.R. (According to Soviet Encyclopaedia)	208	400	2.0

These data show very strong regional differentiation, namely 50 times more books in the developed than in the underdeveloped areas. It is also interesting to reflect that, while the population of the world can be put at 2,500 millions, the total number of books in libraries does not reach half this amount, and is only one-fourth of the books which are published annually. This would mean if the rate of increase of libraries is put at 5% - which is probably far too high - about 10% of the books which are published find their way into libraries, while 90% are absorbed via other channels.

It is also worth observing that the library structure corresponds to the socio-economic power structure: the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. in first place, followed by Europe and South America. Library statistics can easily be misleading: in the United Kingdom a book is a publication priced at a minimum of six pence; in Ireland and Italy it must have at least 100 pages; in Iceland as few as 17; in Hungary the minimum is 64 pages. India, Indonesia and the U.S.S.R. do not distinguish between books and pamphlets. U.S. book statistics exclude pamphlets and government publications which are not sold commercially. The statistical data also confirm that social development is cumulative: the rate of increase has been highest in the U.S. and, more recently, in the U.S.S.R. This would mean that although there might be increase elsewhere the social distance between

the various regions of the world is increasing rather than diminishing; at least if measured by the phenomena which are under analysis in this study. It is not quite satisfactory to use a quantitative approach alone but any value-judgments easily become misleading. It is noteworthy, however, that a list of the most translated authors, published in the UNESCO-Courier of February, 1957, gives 25 authors from the United Kingdom, 21 for the U.S.A.; 16 for France and 13 for the U.S.S.R. Russian authors rank first in terms of number of translations, and the first two places are occupied by Lenin and Stalin, of whom the first even surpasses the Bible.

If the figures for number of books published and number of books in libraries are compared, the percentage of the latter is much higher in the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.¹⁹ than in other countries. This would confirm that the trend towards libraries is strongest in the countries which show the highest ratio of socio-economic development.

Another sociological observation which comes to the fore is that book-production and library development are spontaneous social growths of national groups and that guided development on a global scale has been of relatively little impact.

Where national group and culture-group coincide, the development has been extremely rapid; for instance, Japan. Culture-areas, as such, show less general development trends. The most rapid increase has taken place when nationally organized culture-groups had a large territory at their disposal because in those cases the power-factor gave an added stimulus to development trends.

In regard to the present situation two conclusions seem to be indicated: for the world as a whole there is a marked increase in book-production, library development and reading. This growth is not evenly distributed. It shows a tendency towards an increase rather than a decrease in social distance. Thus, while the overall development is perhaps gratifying, there are no indica-

tions that the present increase would lead to a notable reduction in social tensions. There are meritorious efforts by international agencies to make the processes of social growth more even, but their impact is infinitesimal. It would be reasonable to expect that countries like India and China may advance to the fore because they combine the attributes which were named above. In that case, there may emerge a number of world regions of more comparable social power, and this same trend is evident in the integration of Western Europe. A more even distribution of social power might result from such a situation unless the rate of social growth of some areas should be so far ahead of others that new tensions would result.

It is quite clear, however, that increases of book-production, library developments, etc. are manifestations of social growth, not its causes. For causes one has to look much deeper and farther.

Notes

- 1 London, Grafton and Co. 1934.
- 2 London, Grafton and Co. 1937.
- 3 The volume on national libraries deals, in regard to European libraries, with the British Museum, the National Libraries of Scotland, Wales and Ireland, the "Bibliothèque Nationale," the "Preussische Staatsbibliothek," the "Nationalbibliothek" in Vienna; the Bibliothèque Nationale, Suisse," "La Reale Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale" in Florence, with an appendix on the other National Central Libraries in Rome, Milano and Naples, Palermo, Turin, Venice; the "Biblioteca Nacional" in Madrid; the "Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique;" the "Koninklijke Bibliotheek" at the Hague; the Royal Libraries of Copenhagen, Stockholm and Oslo, and the Library of the University of Helsingfors.
- 4 Cp. Esdaille. o.c. Vol. II, p. xv.
- 5 Cp. Esdaille. o.c. Vol. II, p. 392.
- 6 Cp. Esdaille, o.c. Vol. II, p. 428.

- 7 From a speech by Ramsay MacDonald at the cornerstone laying of the Manchester Public Library in 1930, as quoted in: Pp. 166, 167: Albert Predeck, "Das moderne Englische Bibliothekswesen Leipzig, 1933.
- 8 Pp. 1021 and following in "Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft," Vol. III, Leipzig, 1940.
- 9 Op. ct. p. 1023 o.c.
- 10 Op. ct. p. 1025 o.c.
- 11 These data are from Volume III of the "Handbuch für Bibliothekswissenschaft."
- 12 The "Grosse Sowjet-Enzyklopädia," "Union der Sozialistischen Sowjetrepubliken," Bd. II, 2e Aufl. Berlin 1952, give the following data: in 1914 there were in Russia 12,000 libraries with 8.9 million volumes; 1939 shows 77,600 public libraries with 146.8 million volumes. The Lenin Library in Moscow is listed as "more than 10 million volumes".
- 13 Op. ct. p. 1717.
- 14 Op. ct. p. 1721.
- 15 These are all one volume editions
- 16 It is remarkable that apparently such decentralisation has taken place that the annual number of titles is low compared to Western publishers.
- 17 The number of new acquisitions in 1952 was 32 times the number of all books acquired between 1946 and 1948.
- 18 From: E.J. Carter, The development of national libraries in Pakistan and Burma."
In: UNESCO Bulletin for Libraries, vol. IX, No. 4, April 1955.
- 19 For the U.S.S.R.: Annual book-production 1,000 million, books in libraries 400 million; for the U.S.A.; 164 million book-production, 300 million in libraries.

Chapter XI.

Role Of Libraries In Less Developed Areas

The preceding chapters have attempted to demonstrate that a sociological approach to the function of books and libraries can take place best within the framework of structural sociology. This approach is based upon the recognition that each social actor finds himself in a unique position in the social structure and that his specific form of interaction with his social and natural environment shapes his psychic and mental reaction-patterns.

The motivation of the individual can be considered under two aspects: It consists of his basic biological drives and of his desire to achieve a certain status in relation to the other members of his group. The two are interwoven, and the greater effort which is needed to achieve a higher status is rewarded, in most societies, with more adequate or more complex need-fulfillment. However, as the energy expended becomes greater the motivation becomes weaker, and gradually the individual settles into a position in which energy-expenditure and energy-receipt correspond to his individual capacity, as adjusted to the society of which he is a member. The patterns of society make different demands on individuals, but they must always be of such nature that they correspond to the psycho-physic structure of a certain percentage of the members of that particular society.

Thus, every society shows a certain division of social labor, which in turn determines the mental reaction-patterns of the individual. The less complex functions of a society lead to less complex reaction-

forms; the more complex ones to more intricate reaction-forms, etc. It can also be said that the more complex ones involve more communication than the simpler ones. The amount of communication needed stands in a positive ratio to the complexity of the social structure. The reverse also holds true.

If we view a society statically, the amount and forms of communication it would show would correspond directly to its social structure. But all societies consist of living human beings and are in a state of flux; and the tendency of a social group to expand is somehow projected into the group-mind. Social groups do not view themselves statically but dynamically; and this is conditioned by the speed of their development.

In any case, they project not what is, but what is going to be (unless the development of the social group in question is checked by extraneous factors).

If we apply this to communication it means that we like to assume that communication tends to increase, and we tend to view this increase in terms of the communication patterns of the most complex social groups. There is undoubtedly an error in this assumption because social growth does not consist of creating simpler social forms, but more complex ones. The more complex ones mean a more intricate division of social labor and more complex and more diversified reaction-patterns of individuals. Furthermore, the more complex societies develop extensive compensatory mechanisms to offset the heavy strain that more complex mental functions cause. These compensatory activities in the emotional, physical, cultural or symbolic realm reduce the tensions, or at least channel them into other than the habitual directions. It must be stressed, however, that these more complex compensatory mechanisms can only develop in those societies where socio-economic power permits the support of what could be called "secondary" activities. In the long run, they must develop. Consequently, "primary" and "secondary" communication-forms are two sides of the same coin. If a less complex society were to adopt the "secondary" communica-

tion forms of a more complex society, it would only be accepting an economic burden at the expense of other activities.

Social development may start in any given segment of a society, and, it is theoretically conceivable that a purposive increase of book-production, library-development etc. would function as the needed catalyst.

That such a reaction is possible does not mean that it should automatically be part of social planning. Social planning only has value if it corresponds to the tendency towards social growth of a given social group. If this tendency is absent, planning may occur as a form of status-imitation or it can be superimposed by a more powerful social group. It can only show results, however, if the tendency towards social growth and purposive planning coincide. Even in that case, concrete planning may not always be an expression of the underlying tendencies towards growth. This leads to the conclusion that the most constructive form of planning is the one undertaken by the group which will ultimately benefit from it.

Society, however, consists of numerous groups, and the planning of one might easily be to the detriment of another. The amount of planning which different social groups can do depends upon the amount of control they possess, and this means in our society that 99% of all planning is done by states or groups of states.

If one considers that the budget of UNESCO amounts to less than half a U.S. cent annually per inhabitant of the earth, it is obvious that global planning cannot have any strong impact, although it must be stressed that amazing work is being done with the means available. In addition, the international agencies show very strong group-formation in their assemblies so that it is doubtful whether the planning which emerges from them could be characterized as purely functional planning.

Each state, unless it has allied itself with others, is a unit by itself, and its development and growth are

first and foremost its own concern. The factor of international morality or international law may curtail the growth of one state if it threatens to be to the detriment of the other. History has demonstrated often enough that these restraining influences only operate as long as a certain equilibrium exists. If the equilibrium is upset, the restraining influences tend to diminish drastically in effectiveness.

Consequently, if we consider development of global society, we have to consider it in terms of states. Social growth mostly operates, as we have seen, via the motives of more adequate need-fulfillment and via the motive of gaining a position of greater importance and prestige. The second motive operates much more strongly in regard to larger states while smaller ones tend to be satisfied if they can reach adequate need-fulfillment and a few "status" functions.

The larger states have a tendency to spread their avowed benefits as much as possible, and this causes a certain horizontal spreading within their own territory and in dependencies. In this regard, dependencies of larger states can be better off than individual small states. The competition among large states, however, may put a curb on this tendency towards spreading and, in a general way, we can observe that large states show a preponderantly urban development while remote rural areas and sub-functional urban areas profit but little from the tendency towards horizontal spreading. The accumulation which takes place might be in corporate form rather than in terms of individuals. For instance, our period has seen the tremendous accumulation of socio-economic power in governmental and entrepreneurial bureaucracies. The tendency to accumulate is there even though it will lead time and again to corrective measures if the centralisation reaches its functional limits.

The most simple form of planning is that of the small less developed state which is not part of a larger-than national grouping. For such a state, social development will be attractive insofar as it corresponds to the wish-pattern of its citizens. In other words,

there has to be a starting point in dissatisfied groups or individuals. If there is no dissatisfaction, there is no motive.

In order to lead to social development, the dissatisfaction has to be fairly general in a latent form, even though it is acute only in relatively small groups, as most revolutions have shown. The dissatisfaction must also be general in extent rather than focussed: a whole new cultural stage must be envisaged. It must be observed, however, that social groups which became the carriers of a new culture-stage have always aimed at power as well. The revolutions which heralded new culture-stages brought significant changes in the inter-group power structure simultaneously.

Does this mean that culture-change by imitation is not probable? There have been numerous instances that a cultural innovation which was initiated by one nation was taken over by others, but in those cases the change is less general and less far-reaching. If we apply this to the less developed areas of the present time, we arrive at some interesting conclusions. The force working towards culture change is the resultant of two other forces: A. The dissatisfaction which exists in a given social group; B. The pressures which are exerted on this group from the outside.

It is of interest how these two forces operate in regard to the problem of book-production and library-development.

I. In case of natural growth.

A. If a country shows a tendency towards social growth by numerical increase, for example, it will need to strive for greater mastery over the social and natural environment. The desire to foster reading etc., would be a natural concomitant of this development.

B. Pressure from the outside - and this means pressure from more powerful states - would work in the same direction, though it might favor certain de-

velopments at the cost of others. For instance, if country A exercises pressure on country B to develop heavy industries for defense rather than manufacturing consumer goods, the resulting technical requirements might foster certain types of reading and of libraries, but the lower standard of living would not stimulate the desire to read as a generic desire.

II. If group is not showing natural growth.

A. In a stagnant social group, the motive for increasing social complexity would be absent. Although escapist and salvation-reading might increase, achievement-reading would fall off. If the society in question were a modern one in which achievement-reading is the dominant form of reading, the total of book-production and library-development would diminish.

B. Pressure from the outside might furnish the challenge which could revitalize the society, as has happened often in history. In this case, the added stimulus would work towards greater social complexity and its concomitants. An example would be an agricultural society which becomes aware of the increasing power of a neighboring state, and as a result proceeds to re-examine its social pattern.

If the pressure from the outside is too strong and does not generate a new response (the extreme challenge in terms of Toynbee), the social group in question would tend to become submerged and to become a subgroup of the more powerful society. As a subgroup, it would either adapt itself to the culture-pattern of the dominant group or lead the existence of a marginal group with its own tolerated culture-pattern, e.g., the North American Indian.

For the purpose of our present analysis, only case I is of importance. It shows that the development of less complex areas is an extremely difficult problem that cannot be analysed in any simple fashion. The factor of numerical increase is of importance as it furnishes the "biological" motive for social development.

At present, the development of book-production and of libraries is mostly seen as linked to program of mass-education. These, in turn, can be effective only if the proper social motivation exists.

Some examples from the UNESCO-publication "Development of public libraries in Africa. The Ibadan Seminar" may be used to illustrate these points.

"My own view is that one of the functions of the public library in Africa should be to follow up mass education programmes by providing books of all types, so that what has been learnt in adult education classes is not immediately forgotten again through lack of reading material . . . Education has caught on in Africa today, but many Africans do not realize the connection between education and what we call the reading habit. This is because in schools and adult classes the reading habit is not sufficiently nurtured. Africans are taught to read but are not shown what a vast amount of pleasure and profit can be obtained from exercising their new ability, and in most cases the books are just not there. One must not be too depressed, however, as there are now signs that teachers, instructors and pupils are awakening to the need for good public libraries. It has been proved over and over again that where a good collection of books is provided it is used."¹

In this case, the argument is that the status-factor is important in bringing about library-development, but it is a specific stage of development in which the need for libraries sets in.

"In the development of any given people there comes a time when the need for library service is felt. The first problem lies in determining the precise time, having regard to all the factors involved, when some concrete action should be taken to make the necessary provision. The most important conditions are: a growing percentage of literates in the population, and a number of people who have had something more than a primary education; a general desire on the part of the people for their economic and social improvement; the

existence of a body of literature - suitable in language, content and form - which can be used and appreciated by the people; and sufficient economic stability in the territory to finance a library service and to enable it to develop. In this connection it should be borne in mind that, no matter by what agency provision is first made, it must eventually be maintained by the territory itself.

The need for library provision may first make itself felt in a number of ways, as follows: The educationalists may feel that their efforts in imparting a basic education and thus providing the people with the essential preliminaries for development are wasted if no means are available for continuing intellectual, social and economic advance after the school-leaving age. The indigenous population, aware of their poor educational equipment, may themselves wish for some means of improving it. The authorities, meanwhile, mindful of the limits of formal education, may look for some means by which the population can help themselves. An organized library service can clearly do much to fill the need."²

This passage gives a very clear view of the complexity of the problems involved: a pre-existing upward social movement has to be present which, in the long run, in regard to available aid, must lead to a certain economic balance. If one link is missing in this chain of development, the entire process becomes a precarious one.

It is also a specific problem of less developed areas that the provision of proper materials goes hand in hand with the development of libraries. The Literature Bureaux are a new social institution which is of great importance, because they clearly link reading materials to readers' needs. In the more developed countries, this process is often haphazard.

"...The African reads first and foremost to learn and to improve himself. Caught in the flow of a rapid development, he is anxious to keep pace with it and be

equal to the new tasks which are growing more and more numerous in his country, and his desire to learn, is insatiable. The climate, the conditions of living, the very fatigue which arrives as a result of his arduous reading, does not encourage him to develop a taste for recreative reading."³ This is illustrated by the earlier stages of reading in Western civilisation, when the improvement motive was dominant. In the beginning spiritual improvement was the motive, rather than improvement in achievement-knowledge. The less developed countries are in a stage, however, in which achievement-knowledge is approached with the attitude of devotional reading. The underlying motive is, perhaps, an ethical one: to decrease the distance which separate the peoples of the world and to achieve greater independence; which, nowadays is not possible without a socio-economic basis. A modernized super-structure can only be achieved if this socio-economic basis has been created. The great danger in all development programs is that of destruction of existing culture-patterns while failing to achieve real blending of the new and the old in a new pattern. It must be realized, however, that acculturation only leads to new culture patterns in the case of powerful social groups; in most other cases "mixed patterns" result, but this seems always to have been the case in the course of history.

Only powerful nations achieve what might be called "complete culture-patterns," and even in these cases the process is partial at best. Extraneous influences can be pointed out in all cases, but they remain stronger in the case of smaller social groups. Again it must be pointed out that the amelioration motive is rooted in biological and in status needs and that active development seems to occur only when both are active to a strong degree.

The first step in development is generally achieved by a strong interest in "the others." Early reading is centered on direct improvement-literature and on materials like newspapers and picture periodicals which provide human interest.

".... with the Congolese: periodicals are more in demand than books; "picture-periodicals" are more in demand than periodicals without illustrations; as regard books, travel books and simple technical handbooks are very popular; stories in which African animals appear are in brisk demand but less so than formerly; books on the history and geography of the Congo enjoy steady popularity; novels are usually neglected."⁴

The root of the need for reading lies in the emotional structure of the individual. If culture-development is in a stage in which rapid change is welcomed, there is no strong need for compensatory reading, which belongs to the more complex civilisations.

"The African does not read to "kill" time. He does not read for the mere pleasure of reading. He reads for a purpose. As one reader remarked to me: 'I can't imagine myself reading without a purpose or reading without thinking of what I'm reading.' It might be argued, however, that reading to kill time or for pleasure is also purposeful reading. The African who takes westerns and comics from the shelves of a library may retort - 'Me too. I am also reading for a purpose.' The African reads to improve and develop himself. In Nigeria more than anywhere else in the world the public library should be called "the people's university," but sadly enough, even this poor substitute for the proper educational institution is not within easy reach of those who might need it."⁵

While the public library is of great importance in development programs, it must be seen in relation to other libraries. Of these the university or college library presents no special problems, but it would be possible to point to the distinction between "government" and "national" libraries. The national libraries of the older countries are often "prestige" libraries in which the goal of size plays a large role. The government library of a developing territory has different goals and might in some respects be more comparable to the research or special library. While the national library is aimed at the public in general, a governmental li-

brary in a territory in which literacy is still low, must be geared to the more specialised demands of its users. This type of library should perhaps receive increased attention in development programs; it is particularly adapted to aid programs of the more developed countries since its language problems are less than those of the public libraries.

There are also significant tasks for information libraries in countries where library service is still in its beginnings, provided the service given is civilisational rather than national propaganda. European integration, for example, could lead to the idea of "European information libraries" which could be of considerable value to less developed territories. In this connection it is of interest to refer to the Delhi Public Library in India, which was the first UNESCO library pilot project.⁶

In October of 1955, after the library had been operating for four years, a UNESCO Seminar on the Development of Public Libraries was held in Delhi. This Seminar was used for an appraisal of the achievements of this library.

"We hoped to discover, first, how far the Delhi Public Library had met a social need of the city. Secondly, we wished to ascertain the educational and occupational backgrounds of the people who had become members, and how far they were a representative cross-section of the community in general. Thirdly, some facts were needed on the extent of use, and the kind of use. Fourthly, information was required on the reaction of readers to the library, and whether it was meeting their educational and recreational needs. Finally, we hoped that some light would be thrown on the administrative and organizational problems involved in operating a public library in Asia."⁷

Delhi in 1951 had 1,744,042 inhabitants of whom 623,172 or 39 percent were literates. Delhi has a number of public libraries, functioning mostly as reading rooms, but without any coordination among them.

There are many bookshops and newsstands, 17 major daily newspapers (4 Hindi, 5 English, 8 Urdu) do not publish sensational materials.

The Delhi Public Library operates under a Library Board, as is customary with English libraries. The book-stocks total 62,690 volumes (32,288 in Hindi; 17,902 in English; 12,500 in Urdu). Loans for all department (Central adult lending; children's library; mobile library; deposit stations) totalled 386,236 volumes in 1954-55. There were 16,897 adult-readers and 4,079 children, a total of 20,976 readers.

The typical library user is described as follows: 'He is young, probably under 30, and if he is not a student either at school or college, he is likely to be in some clerical position. He is prepared to go to some trouble to get to the library, and he is not deterred by distance or transport difficulties. The library is a new facility of which he is taking full advantage, since his access to books before joining the library was limited.

The most striking absentees from the library's membership are, first, women, secondly older people and thirdly technical workers. From the evidence of the sample, there are only 1,360 women members, 2,500 members over 30, and there are only 95 technical workers in the total membership of over 20,000. It is obvious that the library does not attract these groups, either through lack of suitable books, or through other factors not determined.An interesting side-light on reading habits is provided by the disclosure that 53 readers or 13 percent of those questioned, read aloud to members of their family - a habit that has almost entirely died out in Western countries, but one of great social value in a country where illiteracy is still common." 8

Library-reading tends to be regular and habitual: most readers come at least once a fortnight. In the Delhi library the reading of books is preferred to that of other materials. "A third of the readers have some

definite end in view, whether it is for school or college work, getting a job or increasing reading ability."⁹

It is interesting that in India the reading of books is preferred to that of newspapers or periodicals while in Africa the opposite holds true. The more intricate culture-pattern of India and its long tradition in religion, philosophy and literature may be of influence in this respect, though this is, of course, no more than the indication of a possibility.

In regard to reading materials, the great demand of adults as well as children is for books in Hindi. "Hindi is read for recreational purposes, the major demand being for fiction and as concerns non-fiction in Hindi also, the demand is for books of an imaginative rather than a factual nature."¹⁰

72 percent of what is read is fiction though the percentage differs for the various languages (77% for Hindi; 38% for English; 90% for Urdu.) It must be pointed out, however, that Hindi literature does not include as much compensatory materials as Western literature, though love-stories are the preferred topic. The various topics of books borrowed range as follows: literature 17,200; social sciences 10,674; technology 9,568; history 8,056; philosophy 7,561; biography 5,973.¹¹

"Too much should not be read into these preferences. They contrast greatly with preferences in Western libraries, where literature, philosophy and particularly social sciences would be displaced by technical books, recreations, fine arts and travel. But preference must to some extent be conditioned by availability, and it is true that, at present, books in Hindi on some subjects are few in number and poor in quality."¹²

However, it became evident that the readers cannot always read the preferred materials. In regard to readers' choice preference was given to biographies, though it did not rank first in the list of actual borrowings. The subjects in which the readers were least interested were: 1. politics; 2. psychology; 3. techni-

cal; 4. economics; 5. world history.¹³

In regard to social education activities, arranged by the library, film showing and exhibitions had more attendance than study groups or lectures.

The general conclusions of the analysis merit attention:

"The library is used mainly by younger and better educated persons, mostly male. The absence of women readers and of older and less-well-educated persons raises a special problem if the library is to be of general use to the community. Furthermore, students form a very large proportion of members, even though the library board does not provide textbooks, and there is no evidence that the library is used extensively for study for examinations. But despite the limitations on membership, the Delhi library has met a very large pent-up demand for reading, and in four years has built up a membership which is regular in use, appreciative of the service offered and prepared to travel long distances to use it regularly.

It seems likely that, as membership of the mobile library and the deposit stations covers a wider cross section of the community than that of the central library and includes more women members and manual workers, and fewer students, that one approach to the extension of membership lies in the wider provision of these services or of branch libraries."¹⁴

In a way, the countries which are at present in a state of accelerated development have the great advantage that the relationship of reader to reading materials in the library is viewed more functionally than in the more advanced countries, where the process of growth of libraries has taken place more independently. In the latter countries, the library has become an established social institution, with functions in society that need constant re-examination. In the simpler setting of the less developed countries, the function is more immediately visible, and surveys, as those of UNESCO, can

influence the more advanced countries as well. It is important also that book-production is considered in regard to readers' needs. In countries which have become recently independent, it is obvious that national pride will require an increase in materials in the national languages. They also need technical books which are adjusted to the ways of thinking of the people and they may need more intensive use of visual means of presentation.

Generalisations do not seem possible or of much value. The problems of each region are different and general development programs can easily do more harm than good. The possibilities can best be envisaged locally, on the basis of actual conditions and of prevailing rate of social change. Social change must be rooted in the needs of the people, and there is little merit in the creation of artificial ones.

Social growth means, as Herbert Spencer pointed out, increasing diversity and increasing differentiation, but not increasing uniformity. The more manifold the tasks which are ahead of us, the more stimulating they will be.

Mankind as a whole is probably-or perhaps necessarily, as it gains in experience - gaining a stage of greater maturity. This maturity should mean greater freedom of the individual, and, if the individual likes to read what corresponds most to his basic interests, libraries and library-development has a guiding principle that can be elaborated step by step and that needs devotion and care. To see people as they really are may be difficult, but it is the most rewarding task which we can set ourselves.

Notes

- 1 Pages 27 and 28 in: Barbara Mullane: "The role of the public library in African mass education programmes." In "Development of Public Libraries

- in Africa." UNESCO, 1954.
- 2 G. Annisley, Steps in planning Public Library Development in an African territory. Op. cit. 39-40.
- 3 Op. cit. p. 57.
- 4 Op. cit. p. 80.
- 5 Op. cit. p. 71.
- 6 Frank M. Gardner "The Delhi Public Library." UNESCO Public Library Manuals. 8. Paris, 1957.
- 7 Op. cit. p. 9.
- 8 Op. cit. p. 33.
- 9 Op. cit. p. 42.
- 10 Op. cit. p. 48.
- 11 Op. cit. p. 44.
- 12 Op. cit. p. 45.
- 13 Op. cit. p. 45.
- 14 Op. cit. p. 90.

Chapter XII.

The Library As A Social Institution

In a recent publication "Studien zur Sociologie der Bibliothek," by Peter Karstedt¹ - one of the few really good sociological treatments of libraries - the author attempts to demonstrate that libraries develop in the form of public institutions if a certain "we-awareness" in a social group replaces the "I-awareness" that precedes the stage of structuration. This approach conveys that social awareness of larger social groups only developed gradually and that the smaller groups did not lead to the creation of libraries.

The library as a public institution could not develop in the Middle Ages because political power was still predominantly in the realm of personal power and was not seen as an objective, de-personalized institution. Also the professional groups such as guilds, brotherhoods, etc. had not become sufficiently institutionalized to achieve the creation of libraries.

Institutionalisation took place only in the religious realm as religious consciousness was strong and deep enough to be separated from the persons who were its carriers. Thus we find collections of sacred and liturgical writings in the churches; legal literature at bishoprics and learned literature in the convents.² As the religious outlook on writing was a restricted one, the libraries, of necessity, corresponded to this attitude.

It is only in the eleventh century that the abstract concept of legal personality emerges in canon law and that corporate bodies acquire a distinct existence of their own. This same process of objectivization was not pos-

sible as yet in the secular realm because the secular institutions were not rooted firmly enough in the social consciousness of the period. The secular institutions were not as yet "social" institutions in the sociological meaning of the word. This may explain why the papal libraries survived better than the personal libraries of princes and kings.

The religious orders also profited from this trend towards institutionalisation though - like in the case of the Franciscan - the vow of poverty at times conflicted with the desire for library formation.

But the library was interpreted as a part of the institutional order and not as a "possession" of the monks. According to this theory it is logical to expect that the next development of libraries took place when a new social group gained a sufficiently strong "we-awareness." Karstedt is of the opinion that this process occurred when the council-assemblies in the Germanic cities came to the fore. These assemblies emerged in the twelfth century in the newly-founded municipalities of Eastern Germany, which had a colonial status. In the other parts of Germany, feudal ties still prevailed, but in the east a freer formation of towns took place. In Lübeck, for instance, the municipal powers were granted to a group of merchants who, as compensation, received the town market monopoly.³ This corporation gradually changed into a municipal council, and in this way, public administered property came into being, in addition to the private property of the merchants.

The municipal council became an expression of group cohesion which found continuity in the families in which council membership became traditional. It was basically an oligarchic rather than a democratic form of government, but the council, nevertheless, assumed the features of a permanent corporate body that was separate from the interests of its members.

This institutionalisation explains, according to Karstedt, the emergence of council libraries, mostly composed of legal literature for the use of the council mem-

bers. As the towns expanded, a certain democratisation took place, and this caused an increase in the de-personalisation of the municipal council and an enhancement of its abstract character.

When the councils no longer drew their membership from certain families only and when social mobility increased, the council libraries gradually widened into the municipal libraries. Since these libraries received book legacies they could no longer remain special in character. In the Protestant countries, this trend was further stimulated by the confiscation of the book collections of convents, religious orders, churches, etc.

The acceptance of Roman law and the introduction of the concept of "legal personality" considerably aided this development. The fact that the Reformation gave a higher status to knowledge than did the universalism of the Middle Ages also provided a stimulus for the formation of more general libraries. Luther himself stressed the importance of town libraries. It might be said that the individualisation which developed in the religious realm had to be compensated by increasing collectivisation in the municipal and governmental sphere. Even later development of public libraries found its first advocates in the period in which the lessening of collective spiritual ties was seen as full of dangers for the individual. While Humanism remained basically an aristocratic movement, the seeds of modern democracy lay in the spiritual individualism of the Reformation which took centuries to penetrate into the economic and political spheres.

It was not only this general trend which caused the foundation of municipal libraries. Even accidental factors aided. A ship that contained the library of the Italian scholar Giovanni d'Oria⁴ was wrecked in Danzig in 1596 and this collection became the nucleus of the municipal library of that town.

It was some time before the collectivisation of interests moved from the municipality to the state. The idea of a German "Reichs"-library in Speyer did not

English thinking, and the most active social group is the functional collectivity, the group of individuals who are interested in a certain activity.

Thus, in England, the special library of a professional group, such as jurists, has had much stronger development than on the Continent. This confirms that a collective consciousness is essential to the development of libraries.

In France, strong feudal ties did not permit the same process as those in the free Hanseatic cities. La Rochelle, which was the stronghold of French Protestantism and the concomitant of individualism, was the only exception. Only La Rochelle had a municipal council and a municipal library.⁸

On the other hand, the strong absolutism of the later French kings favored the "Bibliothèque du roi," and the breakdown of this absolutism led almost automatically to the national library. The French revolution was carried by the French bourgeoisie, and the national library corresponded to their desire for knowledge and progress. The national library is typical for the "coming of age" of the middle class of the 19th century. The public library of the 20th century is the outcome of the rise in status of the working classes and the small bourgeoisie. It is the latter, under the guidance of some farsighted representatives of the upper class which takes the initiative. Again the factor of a collective mind is present: it is not until this period that class consciousness develops in the working classes.

One could continue the reasoning of Dr. Karstedt by pointing out that this development of group consciousness will also be important in the less developed countries and in less privileged groups. The library is the outcome of the growth of a collective consciousness which it in turn stimulates. In our present world, this would mean that the library for the native vernacular or the library of specific culture-groups could become a factor of increasing importance. The library could be of significance as a force against the destruction of

culture patterns without any adequate replacement. If a group-consciousness is of importance for the formation of libraries, their best possibilities lay in linking themselves to this group-consciousness rather than in trying to change it. The group-consciousness precedes the library and the library cannot create it.

The factor of group-consciousness is of importance also because it could lead to the conclusion that, in some cases, it might be preferable to give a non-literate culture a written form rather than to attempt the grafting of an alien culture-pattern on top of the existing one.

It is interesting to observe that in France the fiction of popular sovereignty led to the establishment of national and municipal libraries which were made generally accessible before collectivisation had really taken place. The later movement for public libraries did not affect France greatly because, in theory, this development had already been taken care of. It was the growth of the United States, however, which led to a real popularisation of education and knowledge. In this case the development came to a standstill in the middle classes - but a much vaster middle class - and did not penetrate strongly into the great masses of industrial and farm-workers. The newspaper and the periodical became their library, signifying a partial, but not a total success.

In the U.S.S.R. an attempt is being made to instil the habit of serious reading in the entire population but, while this effort might succeed in a period of rapid change, structural limitations are apt to arise at a later stage. It is probable that the increasing complexity of our social structure will continue to act as a stimulus for reading, but it is also probable that increasing differentiation is more likely than increasing uniformity.

The factor of group-consciousness is of importance because it would explain the trend towards greater differentiation. As the social structure increases in complexity, more and more social subgroups appear on the

scene, and create a group-consciousness of their own.

Libraries of religious groups, of professional groups, of unions and companies, of recreational groups, of linguistic, sub-cultural and even of tribal or clan groups all fit into this pattern. Whether they come to the fore or not depends to a large degree on the rate of social change: if this rate is high, the larger social groups tend to centralize and to restrict the "vita propria" of sub-groups. If the rate of change levels off, decentralisation automatically takes place.

In Europe, for instance, when the rate of social change was falling off, national subgroups tended to increase in importance. If centralisation becomes strong, as in the U.S.S.R., cultural subgroups may be encouraged in theory, but the practice works against decentralisation as centralisation requires general rather than specific communication patterns.

If the factor of group-consciousness is brought into the picture, it becomes clear why the twentieth century brought the "ideological library." The twentieth century, because of its rapid social change, needed a re-examination of all social values and the most decisive method to achieve this was to attempt to reconstruct the social group-consciousness directly. This led to the efforts to create a communist mentality which was counteracted by the reconstruction of the Western spirit. This, in turn, led to a modernisation of the mentality of the Islam countries, the "third way" of India and the ideological patterns which are emerging in other parts of the world. The Communist Library has become a standard feature of the Eastern bloc while the West has seen a considerable increase in publications which analyze its culture-patterns. Regional organisations also build libraries which have an ideological flavor though much of their task is a technical one. The modern government information library also has ideological goals, though again its purposes include many more technical goals.

If the ideological library is seen as the stage

which follows the national library, the development could be considered a positive one, because the ideological group is larger than the national one. While the national group had developed certain rules of conduct in regard to the out-group, the ideological group is as yet sadly lacking in any ideas about its relations with ideological out-groups. It would be logical to assume that the future will bring the emergence of rules which might be, or rather should be, totally different from the legal rules which prevail among nations, even though they could develop by analogy. As long as international agencies are organised on the basis of national groups rather than of ideological groups, it is doubtful whether a constructive development can be expected. The ideological library might be a factor in this process of growth, but it must be pointed out that the West is lagging behind in the development of this type of library, perhaps because its own ideology is a highly diversified one while its ideological tenets are to a large extent formulated by the churches. This might, on the other hand, make a formulation of its culture-pattern more essential.

If we see the library in relation to group-consciousness, the present situation would indicate that there is less of a formulated group-consciousness in the West, and that its prevailing culture-pattern is a national one. If national and ideological patterns overlap, as in the case of the U.S.A. and perhaps of China, the combination can lead to a marked development of social power, while this possibility does not exist - at least in the 20th century - for smaller countries.

It is typical of the ideological library that it is less universal in its goals than the national library, though this depends upon the value which the ideology places on knowledge. If this valuation is high, as in the case of the Communist ideology, the goal of completeness returns for the initiated, but the completeness is not a goal in itself.

If the library is seen in relation to its social carriers, it is also seen in relation to the culture- and

mental patterns of these carriers. The sequence of religious library, the municipal library, the national library, the university library, the special library and the ideological library is of interest. It seems to indicate that as soon as the group-consciousness has reached a certain intensity, it first leads to the formulation of this group-consciousness in religious, philosophical or ideological terms. After the group-mind has gained a certain permanence and stability, more concrete problems of political, economic and social development come to the fore, causing stress on the natural and social sciences. Gradually - or sometimes rapidly - the general and the specific goals merge, and, in regard to libraries, the problem of size and quantity comes to the fore relatively quickly, though not immediately.

The whole process reflects the structuration of social groups, and this process has comparable aspects though it takes place on an increasing scale. The point at which libraries appear in this process is determined by the emergence of a group-mind, by increasing social complexity and by the attributes of the culture-pattern. To evolve a theory which would determine this point exactly seems hardly feasible, but, in any concrete case, the concepts listed would be helpful in determining trends of future development. An additional factor might be the outside pressure which is exerted on a social group, but, on the other hand, this pressure finds expression in the value-system of the social group and can be determined from it by eliminating the other factors which determine the value-system.

In order to get a picture of the possibilities of library development of a social group, it would be necessary to have the following data: the rate of numerical increase; the rate of increase of social density (the intercommunication rate); the attributes of the physical environment (resources, etc.); the value-system; the situation of the group in relation to other groups and the probable rate of increase or decrease of the pressures exercised by these groups. On the basis of these data, it would be possible to arrive at a probability calculation of the communication-pattern, of which the produc-

tion of printed materials and preservation of such materials in libraries, are attributes. It would be logical to expect that the development-line of communication-patterns would correspond to the general curve of social development.

A development-chart is useful in social planning because it reflects the realities on which planning has to be based. Planning by analogy to the development of other social groups is not satisfactory, because the data vary in each individual case.

The library as a social institution is not an isolated instance of social development, although it might be considered as such for analytical purposes, but part of an overall development, in which it represents a specific stage and a specific function. To view this function realistically, the librarian must have an open eye and ear for the society in which he lives and an almost intuitive feeling for the finer shadings of its mental needs.

Technological innovation leads to new forms of communication, and it is difficult to determine whether they should be incorporated into the library. It is not only reading which is a generic habit, but reading is a part of the need for communication. Other forms of communication stimulate reading, and the crucial question is more "How much communication is essential to the functioning of a social group" than "What forms of communication are essential." Certain types of communication can use only certain forms, but in regard to others, there is a choice. This choice is favorable, because it enables the individual to make a diversified and therefore intensified use of his capacities.

The reading of printed materials is probably only a small percentage of what is read daily in the form of letters, typed reports and communication, etc. The essential point is that social communication increases with social growth, and this cumulative need causes the creation of new forms of communication. They exist side by side, and, apart from their meeting specific

functions, they stimulate one another.

This cumulative tendency means that the future development of libraries has to be in the direction of functional differentiation, depending upon the individual characteristics of specific social groups. But those social groups consist of living human beings, and those who carry specific functions must also be well-educated, interested and alive. It is the eternal newness of life which furnishes its greatest fascination.

The library is not only this or only that, but it is itself a living institution, made by people and for the service of people. It requires originality and initiative and it is not subject to definite forms and definite goals. In a period of change it changes, in a way about which we can ponder and guess but about which we do not possess any definite knowledge.

Notes

- 1 Peter Karstedt, *Studien zur Sociologie der Bibliothek*. Band I, Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1954.
- 2 For these and subsequent passages pp. cit. pp. 9-11.
- 3 Op. cit. p. 12.
- 4 Op. cit. p. 17.
- 5 Op. cit. p. 18.
- 6 Op. cit. p. 25 and sqs.
- 7 Op. cit. p. 21.
- 8 Op. cit. p. 27.

Chapter XIII.

Reading And Personality Development

Recently many publications have appeared about the function of reading, and expressions like "efficient readership" and "maturity in reading" have become common.¹ If the activity of reading is seen as a relationship between communicator and communicatee, efficiency in reading must be analyzed in terms of this relationship. This immediately causes great difficulties because it is hardly possible to say that the good writer is the one who pleases the efficient reader or the good reader the person who gets most out of the efficient writer. This leads us straight into the jungle of circular reasoning and of value judgments. It also tacitly assumes that a high rate of social communication via the form of reading is "good" and a low rate "bad." This in turn leads to the value-judgment that a more complex society is "better" than a less complex one, and, before we know it, we are praising one stage of social development over another. There is no acceptable yardstick for this. A sociological investigation must try to be free of value judgments. If a farmer has a lower rate of social communication than a lawyer, there is no reason to assume that the farmer should attempt to improve his communication-pattern. The social function of the individual determines the communication pattern, while the reverse relationship can be at best the expression of a trend to or a desire for change, but not of a reality.

A more complex society needs shows a higher rate of intercommunication, but we cannot achieve the more complex stage simply by imitating its communication-patterns. To analyze the function of reading, it is necessary to place it within its social context. The slow, la-

bored reading of religious writings can be far more important than the quick perusal of half a dozen learned journals; a single line from a poem may mean more to a person than a whole anthology; and an hour of meditation may be worth ten hours of reading. The intonation of a single spoken word can upset the mental structure of a person more than a whole volume of iconoclastic writing. In fact, the mental fabric of Man is so complicated and so varied that it is difficult to make any generalisations of value.

If we use the yardstick of the acquisition of knowledge alone, it is perhaps possible to speak about efficient reading, but if we deal with devotional or culture reading, such concepts are hardly usable. A cultured person is someone who has developed his own mind to such an extent that it has become a well-balanced instrument that gives him a certain security, serenity and happiness. He may achieve this without ever reading a word.

We cannot say that a person has "read" a million words a day as in this type of usage the word "reading" acquires quite a different meaning than when we say that somebody is reading the tragedies of Shakespeare. Quick reading is not necessarily "good" reading, but the latter term has not much meaning if we do not know what kind of satisfaction the reader is striving for. All satisfaction is in terms of emotions, but these emotions can be direct, intellectual and spiritual. Their intensity is not subject to any general measurement, and it is difficult to say whether the personality is developed by reading.

If the individual has great absorptive powers, reading will come natural to him. If not, certain types of reading might be damaging and cause nervous strain.

"And further, by these, my son, be admonished:
Of making many books there is no end; and
much study is a weariness of the flesh"

Ecclesiastes: 12.12.

This expresses clearly that knowledge is not a

goal in itself, but should be anchored in emotions and find perspective in a superstructure of principles and beliefs. Wisdom is superior to knowledge because it includes the knowledge of what is worth knowing.

If we want to evaluate reading in relation to personality development, it is essential to conduct this analysis upon the basis of the tripartite division into emotional, intellectual and spiritual responses. Reading can be in terms of any of these three responses, and in each case it is subject to different norms. For escapist or compensatory reading there is no other criterion than that it meets those needs. There is no reason to retain the read materials, and, if a person remembers them accurately, one would be inclined to suspect that his mind is mostly in the realm of the more immediate emotions. There also seems little that can be said about the speed of reading of these materials: it is the outcome of the mental- emotional condition of the reader, and there is no greater merit in reading a detective story quickly than in reading it slowly. The person who reads much would tend to read quickly, but he might purposely attempt to slow his normal pace in order to achieve better relaxation.

In regard to newspapers and periodicals we are often on the borderline between reading and "skimming," and again there is no question of merit in either approach. If a composer has no great interest in politics or international affairs, this might be one of the conditions of his being able to write music. The reverse could also be true. The personality structure is ultimately the decisive factor in building up a complex reaction system to the communications from the outside. The philosopher Comte, for instance, decided that only the reading of classics was of benefit to his mind while all other materials, like newspapers, were damaging. They are written in a "psychic key" that might elicit responses in many people, but not in all, and again there is no greater merit in the one than in the other attitude.

Matters become different if we deal with "knowl-

edge" reading. In the first place, the development of knowledge is essential to the emergence of more complex societies, and, secondly, in regard to this type of reading, it is possible to talk about efficient reading, maturity in reading, etc. while, in addition, the factors of absorption and retention become measurable and also meaningful. The "knowledge-reader" reads for a more directly social goal, and his success or failure can be measured in terms of this goal. It is not possible to say whether this goal simultaneously contributes to his "personality development."

Every individual somehow finds a place in society, and if this place corresponds to his basic personality-structure, he will gain a certain measure of equilibrium. If he is not well adjusted, an increase in knowledge can be helpful as well as damaging. It would be helpful if it made him see his own position more clearly or if it helped him change his situation. An increase in knowledge could also widen the gap between social status and personality projection, and, in such a case, it might even lower a person's social responses.

The difficulty is that we tend to confuse the dynamic and the static aspects of a given situation. If we view a social group statically, the "right" amount of communication as well as its forms would be determined by the social position of the individual. This would have to correspond to his personality structure although, obviously, to a varying degree in various people. Society is always in motion, however, and we assume that it is moving towards conditions of greater complexity. Probability supports this view, and insofar as we engage in social planning, we do this upon the basis of increasing complexity.

This increasing complexity is only possible because the individual is capable of adjusting himself to more complex situations. To dynamic individuals, this "progress" is also emotionally rewarding, but it must be understood that the pace set by the leaders is often oppressive to the masses and that compromises emerge which make the "social pace" correspond to the capa-

bilities of the individual. Ultimately, it is the emotional structure of the individual which determines the possible rather than the desired social pace, and it is quite misleading to think that the lagging behind of individuals is a matter of volition. The pace an individual can adjust to depends upon his energy-structure, and if the demands made upon him are too heavy, serious relapses and breakdowns will result. No society can afford to ignore these danger-signals, and has to make adjustment, unless there are such overwhelming threats from outside groups that sacrifices are acceptable. There are limits, however, to such sacrifices, and every social group takes on the pattern that corresponds to the capabilities of the individuals who are its components.

The dynamism of leading social groups cannot be "imitated" by others because they are in a totally different set of conditions. Unless comparable conditions emerge, the same or similar responses cannot be expected, even if the physical capability for such responses were available. Thus, our view of these matters must be a structural one, if we do not want to relapse into the error of rationalism: i.e., regarding the attributes of human nature as constants and of disregarding the fact that the social and natural environment differs for each individual.

Both the attributes and capabilities of the individual and the social challenge which he has to meet are variables, and any approach to the impact of certain activities on the individual must be regarded in this light.

The social challenge which the individual undergoes differs for each culture-pattern, and the only justified generalisation seems to be that increasing social complexity means an increase in rational reactions as compared to emotional or symbolic ones. A process like reading occurs in all three realms, but we can point to the predominance of one factor over the others in order to arrive at analytical possibilities.

The amount of knowledge which is essential for

personality development has increased in modern society and is also spread over a far larger segment of the population. In addition, social mobility has increased considerably. If this furnishes the major motive for increased reading, frustrations are likely to result because the hierarchical structure of society remains and the percentage of people in the upper strata cannot change too much. If the ideological climate of a country favors social equality, this would tend to favor personality development, but it would encourage reading only insofar as it gives emotional satisfaction.

This explains perhaps why newspaper- and magazine reading has become the dominant form of reading. It satisfies emotions, like curiosity, interest in the unusual, anxiety about the future, etc., while its advertisements tend to make buying a sport rather than a routine activity.

If society is seen as expressing the capabilities of its components, it becomes a compromise that gives some rewards to many, but all to none. It always involves conflict, dissatisfaction, etc., and these qualities furnish one of the mechanisms of motion.

These conflicts and dissatisfactions can express themselves in writing better than in other forms of mass communication, and this makes the writer and the reader stand out as individuals rather than as conformist participants. That this function involves hazards is well described in an interesting book by P.H. Ditchfield, entitled "Books fatal to their authors."² It enumerates not only those authors who fell victim to ideological persecution, but also the ones who incurred physical and financial ruin - sometimes involving also their publishers - as a result of their labors.

"Randle Cotgrave, the compiler of one of the most valuable dictionaries of early English words, lost his eyesight through laboriously studying ancient manuscripts in his pursuit of knowledge. The sixteen volumes of manuscripts preserved in the Lambeth Library of English literature, killed their author, Henry Wharton, be-

fore he reached his thirtieth year. By his indiscreet exertion of his mind in protracted and incessant literary labours, poor Robert Heron destroyed his health, and after years of toil spent in producing volumes so numerous and so varied as to stagger one to contemplate, ended his days in Newgate. In his pathetic appeal for help to the Literary Fund, wherein he enumerates the labours of his life, he wrote, "I shudder at the thought of perishing in goal." And yet that was the fate of Heron, a man of amazing industry and vast learning and ability, a martyr to literature."

In early periods the risks of writing and of reading were even much more severe. Savonarola, for instance, paid for his writings with his life:

"The opportunity of his enemies came when Charles VIII of France retired from Florence. They accused Savonarola of all kinds of wickedness. He was cast into prison, tortured, and condemned to death as a heretic. In what his heresy consisted it was hard to discover. It was true that when his poor, shattered sensitive frame was being torn and rent by the cruel engines of torture, he assented to many things which his persecutors strove to wring from him. The real cause of his destruction was not so much the charges of heresy which were brought against his books and his sermons, as the fact that he was a person inconvenient to Pope Alexander VI. On the 23rd of May, 1498, he met his doom in the great piazza at Florence where in happier days he had held the multitude spell-bound by his burning eloquence. There sentence was passed upon him. Stripped of his black Dominican robe and long white tunic, he was bound to a gibbet, strangled by a halter, and his dead body consumed by fire, his ashes being thrown into the river Arno. Such was the miserable end of the great Florentine preacher, whose strange and complex character has been so often discussed, and whose remarkable career has furnished a theme for poets and romance-writers, and forms the basis of one of the most powerful novels of modern times."³

Many ideas which now are expressed without any

particular consequences for the author proved fatal in an earlier period.

"Poland witnessed the burning of Cazimir Liszinski in 1689, whose ashes were placed in a cannon and shot into the air. This Polish gentleman was accused of atheism by the Bishop of Potsdam. His condemnation was based upon certain atheistical manuscripts found in his possession, containing several novel doctrines, such as "God is not the creator of man; but man is the creator of a God gathered together from nothing." His writings contain many other extravagant notions of the same kind."⁴

The strange arguments on which authors were condemned is illustrated by the following instance:

"Braver far than the heroes of Horace was he who first dared to attack the horrible Inquisition, and voluntarily to incur the wrath of that dread tribunal. Such did Antonius Palearius, who was styled Inquisitionis De-tractator, and in consequence was either beheaded (as some say) in 1570, or hanged, strangled, and burnt at Rome in 1566. This author was Professor of Greek and Latin at Sienna and Milan, where he was arrested by order of Pope Pius V and conducted to Rome. He stated the truth very plainly when he said that the Inquisition was a dagger pointed at the threats of literary men. As an instance of the foolishness of the method of discovering the guilt of the accused, we may observe that Palearius was adjudged a heretic because he preferred to sign his name Aonius, instead of Antonius, his accuser alleging that he abhorred the sign of the cross in the letter t and therefore abridged his name. By such absurd arguments were men doomed to death."⁵

Fate can play strange tricks, as is proved by the case of the poet who was brought to doom by a gust of wind:

"Leaving his chambers one day, he opened the window, and unfortunately a strong gust of wind carried several pages of MS which were lying on his table into

the street. A priest who happened to be passing the house examined one or two of the drifting poems, and, discovering that they were impious, denounced Petit to the authorities. His rooms furnished a large supply of similar work, and, as we have said, the poet paid the penalty for his rashness at the gallows."⁶

Equally interesting is the story of the widow of a German printer who objected strongly to the supremacy of husbands. She was anxious to revise the passage in the Bible which speaks of the subjection of wives. "The original text is "He shall be thy lord." For Herr (lord) in the German version she substituted Narr and made the reading, "He shall be thy fool." It is said that she paid the penalty of death for this strange assertion of "Woman's rights."⁷

Finally mention should be made of the few authors who have felt pity for the publishers who sometimes share their fate:

"The scribbling crew would make one's vitals bleed,
They write such trash, no mortal e'er will read,
Yet they will publish, they must have a name;
So printers starve, to get their authors fame."⁸

In modern society, the dangers which threatened the writer still occur in the totalitarian societies while, in the Western world, poverty is a constant hazard to the author who writes to express himself rather than according to the patterns which seem to promise success. As the awareness of the limitations to which society subjects the individual are an important motive in the writer as well as the reader, there seems to be no way to avoid this hazard. The increasing differentiation of society may furnish a more natural place to the creative author, while greater choice and greater freedom on the part of the reader may stimulate reading.

It is interesting to reflect that the great storytellers and the creative thinkers constitute the most read authors. This augurs well for the future of writing and reading as purposes in themselves rather than

as secondary goals. The fact that it takes thousands of poor or mediocre books to create the setting for the really great ones would mean that our increasing production may tend to create quality on top of quantity. In other art forms, too, it can be observed that a high standard of qualitative is only reached under conditions of high production. The more rapid turnover of reading materials in modern society might be a danger to this tendency, because the "good" book could be lost before it would be recognized as such. The high cost of production also works in favor of conformist rather than of creative writing, but both these tendencies can be offset by grants from governments, foundations, etc. In addition, a word should be said in favor of part-time jobs which enable the creative individual to earn his bread and butter by an indifferent activity while his creative energy remains free and does not have to seek compromises. Societies, as wealthy as those of the contemporary Western world, could undoubtedly create these possibilities on a much vaster scale. Their great advantage would be that they would be automatically attractive only to those individuals to whom economic interests are secondary. But even they have to eat sometimes!

It would be logical to assume that the interaction between reader and writer will automatically lead in these directions. According to the statistical data on the most read books, the modern reader seeks predominantly emotional satisfaction and materials about general philosophical and socio-economic principles. Those interests point to the free author as the provider of the materials which meet these qualifications.

The root of these needs is a rather obvious one: modern society places a rational function on the shoulders of almost all individuals so that his emotional and philosophic needs strive to find satisfaction. Reading is not the only outlet in this direction. The family, the group of friends, the church, even the "clique" try to make up for the deficiencies of the "large society," but reading is of great importance because it stimulates emotions and may partially explain why authors some-

times sacrifice life, health or wealth to write a book, while readers are willing to run comparable risks to obtain a work which formulates the goals that have become of overwhelming importance to them.

The specific type of change which a society undergoes is reflected in its reading:

"A second significant fact is that the chief purposes for reading have varied widely from time to time in harmony with the changing needs, ideals and aspirations of the American people. A few examples based on developments since Colonial days will lend support to this contention. During the Revolutionary period the chief purpose of most of the material published was to acquaint readers with the causes that impelled separation from the mother-country and to develop loyalty to the new nation.

From 1825 to 1875 young people and adults read widely to secure information concerning the expanding frontier, to learn about the major problems faced by our growing nation, and to understand better the duties and responsibilities of good citizens. During the latter part of the century keen interest developed in raising the cultural level of our country through the spread of libraries and the reading of materials of acknowledged literary merit. From 1900 to 1925 interest in reading increased with surprising rapidity among adults. Owing to the very character of the times both at home and abroad, much of the reading was dominated largely by utilitarian purposes.

By 1925 the opportunities and demands for reading were numerous and varied. Personal conferences with over nine hundred adults showed that more than 90 per cent read newspapers, about 75 per cent said they read or looked at magazines, and almost 50 per cent claimed that they did some book reading, at least occasionally.

The years since 1925 have been one of the most critical periods in our history. Within a relatively brief time we have faced a series of economic, social

and political crises that have required radical adjustments and stern measures. In the effort to understand and meet those problems, exacting demands have been made on readers.

The depression of 1929 for instance, threatened the economic security of most individuals. As a result, young people and adults read widely to increase their vocational competence or to prepare for new types of positions."⁹ By 1935, national ideologies began to occupy the American public, while, after World War II, international relations came to the fore. The increase in tensions of the most recent period brought a marked interest in the fields of psychology, psychiatry and cultural anthropology."

Comparable patterns of the interrelationship between social change and reading which was indicated here briefly for American society could be made for other societies. The correlation is twofold: the realm in which social change is most pronounced is reflected in writing while there is also a correlation between the rate of tensions in a given society and the amount of reading and writing. A high rate of tensions causes an increase in compensatory, escapist and remedial reading. Thus, a positive correlation seems to exist in regard to the type of change as well as to the rate of change.

This is also significant in regard to the impact of reading on personality development. The most marked area of change, directly or indirectly, affects the individual. It reduces his anxieties to gain information about these changes as they gain in perspective when they are viewed via the prism of knowledge. A known danger is less threatening than an unknown one while, of course, there is no social change which is not positive to some people, at least temporarily.

We can also observe that "confirmative" and critical writing go hand in hand in regard to the activities in which social change takes place. If religion is the dominant interest of a society, the majority of writing deals

affirmatively or at least constructively with the dominant culture-pattern, but there is also a certain amount of atheist writing. If change is predominantly economic, we can be certain to find religious or philosophic writing which rejects the dominant patterns.¹⁰ In other words, the area of change results in a strong mental focussing which automatically causes reactions. It is perhaps a remarkable example of the short-sightedness of Man that often punishments are inflicted on those who reverse the focus although it is a most essential social function. In fact, if it were not an important social function it would not occur because there can be no inducement for a normal individual to engage in activities which are likely to lead to his being decapitated.

Those activities are compulsory in individuals who react to the excessive forms of their society, but it is not justifiable to regard such attitudes as "voluntary" ones.

The subterfuges which have been used to escape the dominant pattern are sometimes astounding. P.H. Ditchfield¹¹ relates how the Italian Lucilio Vanini, born in 1585, really propagated atheism under the pretense of attacking it:

"In this work also (*"De admirandis naturae reginae deaeque mortalium arcanis,"* Paris, 1616) he adopted his previous plan of pretending to demolish the arguments against the Faith, while he secretly sought to establish them. He says that he had wandered through Europe fighting against the Atheists wherever he met with them. He describes his disputations with them, carefully recording all their arguments; he concludes each dialogue by saying that he reduced the Atheists to silence, but with strange modesty he does not inform his readers what reasonings he used, and practically leaves the carefully drawn up atheistical arguments unanswered. The Inquisition did not approve of this subtle method of teaching Atheism, and ordered him to be confined in prison, and then to be burned alive."

This same technique of damning with not such

faint praise has occurred in our age under the totalitarian regimes. It confirms that pressure causes counter-pressure and leaves much doubt about the wisdom of exerting strong pressures, even though history shows that occurs frequently. The factor of stages of social development is important because earlier culture-stages tend to show a higher degree of coercion than more mature ones.

Modern mass society is ruled more by suggestion than by direct coercion. Its technique is to occupy the individual so fully that there cannot be accumulation of "free social energy" which could be utilised to upset the structure of the society. Whether this pattern of "consumption around the clock" is conducive to reading depends upon the attractiveness of constant innovation. If the suggestive power of constant innovation wears off, a sense of loneliness and frustration often emerges in the individual. This might be a stimulus to more serious reading in order to overcome this depressive period, but it could also result in "indifferentism" which is one of the great dangers of modern society. Too much innovation wears down the responses of the individual, and it is quite remarkable that the philosophy of "the more, the better" is not challenged more often and more effectively.

In regard to reading, there is really nothing to recommend "quantity reading," which results in a superficial encyclopaedic knowledge or in the emergence of oral patterns that are becoming less and less convincing; it reminds one increasingly of Andersen's story about the clothes of the emperor. A great amount of factual knowledge can be **very** useful if it is not purely a verbal knowledge which **has** not penetrated into the mind of the individual. Secondary reading does not affect personality-structure, although the motive for secondary reading does. But the reading which is important to the personality formation of the individual is predominantly reading as a goal in itself and to the question "Why do you read," the only constructive answer is "Because I like to." This means that reading is an essential need of the individual rather than a de-

rived one. It is also a natural need because communication is one of Man's basic wants. Apart from its utility, it is also psychically important, because it trains intellect and imagination for situations which might arise.

Thus, as much freedom as a society can reasonably permit would be the strongest impetus for writing and reading and would also give it the greatest possible depth-penetration. In all activities, however, a stage occurs in which some coercion is essential, and reading only becomes a pleasure after it has caused some pain. In the processes of education, the necessary requirement for successful reading is a rather rigid language training. Good writing cannot be appreciated unless the reader has reached the stage in which he reads for form rather than content.

In this respect, our interest in informative writing is detrimental to good writing, even though information may be essential in a period of widening social groups. This need is also reflected in our admiration for the man who possesses "expert-knowledge" though it could be well argued that few decisions are taken upon a purely rational foundation.

Yet, in spite of rapid change and increasing communication, writing as a goal in itself has not disappeared from our society and our most successful literary production belongs to this category, at least in those societies in which no excessive pressures are exercised upon the reader.

It is refreshing to reflect that the most successful social activities are those which are most firmly and directly rooted in the interests of the individual. This gives a rock-like quality to our society that cannot be uprooted by the shifting forms of social power. The shifting forms reflect these interests rather than dominating them. It is essential, however, that we re-examine these interests very carefully, and that we do not assume too readily that it is the "consumption-around-the-clock"-pattern which really corresponds to the in-

terests of the individual. Our energy-expenditure should be meaningful in terms of our need-structure, and if this relationship is stretched beyond its structural contents, reactions are likely to occur.

In regard to reading this means that the reading of a book or an article must leave the individual with the feeling that it has met an essential need. If it does not give that feeling, it is preferable not to read than to read. Periods of non-reading should also be recommended to those who take their reading seriously. Such periods are needed to gain perspective and to check the impact of what has been read. If reading does not leave something, it has been a purely compensatory or recreational activity which does not contribute to personality development. This attitude is most likely to occur in indiscriminate reading and would tend to be absent if the individual has a pronounced choice. The choice reflects the needs of his personality. This does not mean that a general intellectual curiosity cannot be of value, but little value should be attached to general reading if it results from a sort of compulsive feeling. In that case, it reflects nervous tension rather than intellectual curiosity.

The fascinating aspect of creative writing and of creative art in general is that it is practically the only activity left to a natural elite. The elite groups of modern society have become strongly institutionalized in the spheres of business corporations, political control-groups and army-leaders from which social institutions like education, church, science, etc. have become largely derivatives.¹²

The relationship between the creative writer and his audience has remained the least institutionalized one. It is to this realm that the independent in spirit have to flee; and it is to them that the masses look for a formulation of the criticisms which they feel to be vitally important. That many of these works belong technically to the realm of sociology, psychology, psychiatry or anthropology means that the critic of modern society often has to find a starting point in the insti-

tutionalized sphere, though his works do not present a "science" in any orthodox fashion. Rather they are personal reflections about the shortcomings of society in the de-personalized style which has been made general by the corporate elite. The appeal is even stronger if this last compromise with the verbal forms of the ruling groups is broken, as in the writings of the great novelists and dramatists. They return to a direct emotion-language, perhaps never in reality spoken, which means a release from the de-personalised verbiage of the institutionalized elite, and constitutes an urgently needed compensation.

It is this type of writing that really reaches the individual. It carries a terrific responsibility because the masses impute to it the sincerity which they sometimes miss in the elite groups. The latter are as often regarded as pseudo-elite that are not really concerned about the well-being of the masses, which urgently seek a formulation of their interests.

The impact of writing on the reader depends upon this direct emotional relationship that can exist only because the writer is closer to the mass-emotions than the other elites which rationalize their function in a set of beliefs and principles. Those beliefs and principles lack the reality that is most basically needed. It is the writer who is the formulator of this reality and who in this way furnishes the mental and spiritual continuity of mankind. He belongs to an elite with no other allegiance than the faithful and perhaps even involuntary interpretation of his own feelings and emotions.

Notes

- 1 William S. Gray and Bernice Rogers, "Maturity in reading," Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1956.
- 2 London, Elliot Stock, 1895.
- 3 Op. cit. p. 31 and 32.
- 4 Op. cit. p. 51.
- 5 Op. cit. p. 96-97.

- 6 Op. cit. p. 187.
- 7 Op. cit. p. 205.
- 8 English translation of a French poem of Jodelle, cited in Pasquier's letters. As mentioned in P.H. Ditchfield, Op. cit. p. 219-220.
- 9 Pages 2-4, in: William S. Gray and Bernice Rogers, Maturity in reading. Chicago, Un. of Chicago Press, 1956.
- 10 One could also point to the "underworld" of writing on legally forbidden topics.
- 11 Op. cit. p. 93.
- 12 See the fascinating study by C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite. New York, Oxford University Press, 1956.

Chapter XIV.

The Probable Future Functions Of Writing, Reading And Libraries.

One of the few theorems of sociology which has gained general acceptance is the thesis that social development consists of increasing differentiation occurring simultaneously with increasing interrelatedness. This was elaborated by Herbert Spencer in the 19th century, and comparable observations can be found in the works of Aristotle.

There is no scientific foundations for the belief - recently fairly frequently expressed - that the history of mankind may come to an abrupt end. Technology has permitted self-destruction at almost any period, but social groups tend to use technology as a means to an end, and, though these ends might consist of power, this power is ultimately always human power.

If we combine these two observations, we must assume that social growth is a continuing process, even though there is no scientific foundation for any assumptions about the rate of growth. This rate could level off, due to structural limitations.

We live in a period in which the most important social group has changed from the national state of the 19th century to the superstate of the 20th century and groupings of smaller states or regional groupings. While the state of the 19th century rested upon a predominantly cultural-legal basis, the dominant group of the 20th century is an ideological one.

In the course of three centuries certain rules of

interstate behavior had emerged in legal form, which have led to the development of international law. Even conflict-behavior was submitted to behavioral rules as international contacts became increasingly more numerous.

The intergroup contacts of the 20th century - viz. those between the ideological groups - have as yet not led to the emergence of a new set of behavioral rules, and international law cannot quite fulfil this function because the various ideological groups give it different interpretations and make it subservient to ideological or power principles. International law emerged in the Western world after practical rules of behavior had developed between the leading groups of Western Europe. These gradually gave a predominantly legal form to those rules, as law began to reflect the regulated forms of interhuman behavior. It must also be observed that this development took place after extensive economic contacts had developed.

In other words, the rationalisation of intergroup-behavior is a very gradual process, and, in regard to the ideological groups of the 20th century, the world seems to be again at the initial stage, especially because the leading superstates were not dominant in the period in which the nation-states developed international law. The superstates of the 20th century are carriers of a new type of civilisation, and only by analogy can we make some observations about the way in which they might come to a new set of intergroup rules. It would be logical to assume the same sequence; i.e., economic contacts and contacts between the ruling elites, leading to behavioral rules. This would be possible only if the super-states arrive at the conclusion that co-existence is preferable to conflict, and it can certainly not be claimed that this stage has been reached. If a conflict were to develop, the popular belief is that a world would emerge which would be organised on the pattern of the victorious group. This assumption can easily be fallacious because it is not certain that a victor would emerge. It is also possible that state-capability would drop to such a low point that more primitive social forms would

come to the fore. In addition, if there were only one powerful ideological group left, decentralisation would quite likely occur because one of the dominant motives for centralisation namely, danger from the outside - would have disappeared.

In whatever way these developments might take place, it seems certain that continued social growth will mean a continued increase in intergroup and interhuman communication. Whether the process of social growth is evolutionary or operates via the mechanism of conflict, this seems definite.

If we regard social planning as a conscious effort toward evolutionary development, it is obvious that it must aim at an increase in intergroup communication. While this process is at present strongly under way within the dominant ideological groups, it has not yet reached the inter-ideological group level. Again it must be observed that within the ideological groups the increase in communication is set off by the motive of economic amelioration. This leads to the idea that the most crucial problem which the world is facing is a global division of labor which would take the place of inter-ideological group-competition. Again - as in the development of the Western world of the 17th and 18th century - this global "planning" would be possible only if the ruling elites of the ideological groups were to agree on it and gradually translate these agreements into behavioral rules that would gain general acceptance. As developments in larger social groups often take place in analogy to those of smaller groups, it is possible that the compromise-technique which is emerging in the Western world may furnish an acceptable pattern. The compromise-technique consists of taking an existing situation as the starting point, charting probable developments and arriving by bargaining at the division of socioeconomic power at the end of the charted course. The basis of the compromise-technique is the acceptance of a reasonable self-interest of all parties concerned, without permitting abrupt changes. Its foundation is a comparable rate of social growth because excessive differences in this rate of growth make the possibilities for

compromise extremely small. As regulated social growth has come within our grasp, there is no reason why it could not be made the basis of inter-ideological group behavior.

If the possibility of a sudden catastrophe in inter-ideological group relations is left out of consideration, as being outside the realm of rational analysis, the further arguments can be based upon the hypothesis of continued social growth and of increased social communication. An increase in a social activity means its further differentiation, so we must assume that this same trend will become evident in regard to the activities with which we are concerned.

Five forms of writing have been distinguished in the course of this analysis: devotional writing; cultural writing; achievement-writing; compensatory writing and informational writing. Each of these types of writing can be divided into subcategories or by subject rather than by the type of writing.

It has been argued that in periods of rapid social change achievement-writing occupies a major place, but all types of writing correspond to basic human needs, and it is reasonable to expect that a more balanced society would again show an increase in the interest for devotional and culture-writing.

Technological innovations have created new forms of writing, like the writing of film-, radio-, and television scripts. The writing of advertising copy has become a field with a technique of its own that deserves consideration if all aspects of writing are considered. Briefly mention has been made of the vast amount of writing that takes place in the form of letters, reports, analyses, etc. but, for the purpose of this analysis, book-writing has been the major form with which we have been concerned.

In modern society, two major forces influence reading: increasing differentiation and pace of life. The first factor works in favor of book-reading; the second

factor operates against it. It has been observed¹ that in the United States the "elite-groups" do not engage in much book-reading, because they are involved more in the direct communication-patterns which are essential to their task of decision-making. This is an essential difference from the upper-class groups of Western Europe for which "culture" is a required attribute. The elite of the New Era was supposed to possess a philosophy which determined their behavior and made it understandable to the other groups in society or at least to the professional and middle classes which were evolving comparable patterns.

If modern society is seen as a compromise between the "vitality-patterns" of individuals and groups, we introduce an irrational element that is not without danger. Philosophy is perhaps the formulation of a long-term behavior pattern. If a definite philosophy is lacking it would seem that short-term interests are sacrificed to long-term ones. On the other hand, it could be argued that the occupation with "reality-as-it-is" could be the indication of our desire to give society a more lasting form. If this is a basic underlying motive, it would still be essential to investigate the forms our society would have to take to gain a permanence which is not that of leading groups but of society as a whole. Much writing about these problems is in an intermediary range which leaves out ultimate principles and goals. Because book-reading has become predominantly a middle-class activity, writing has adjusted itself to this requirement and this may have narrowed its range unduly.

A society that occupies a leading position will always be expected to state its philosophy and its principles. It cannot refer to a "way of life," because a way of life does not furnish an acceptable charting of future action to outsiders who do not possess the feeling for such a pragmatic attitude. Although decisions are always taken when the need arises, the quest for a philosophy is the demand for security of dependent groups. If such a philosophy is lacking, a feeling of uncertainty results for which there are no remedies in compensa-

tory reading. The elite-groups of modern society are extremely uneven in their production of ideological writing: on one side, there is an abundance or even an excess, while, on the other side, there is a vacuum that fills the world with some uneasiness. The increasing contact between the United States and Europe may tend to fill this vacuum, but, at present, there are few indications of this development. Consequently, there is a sort of vacuum at the top in modern writing; lack of thinking about purposes and beliefs, and a vague notion that this is perhaps not necessary.

Man has not changed so much that he can live without principles or beliefs, and no amount of communication on medium levels can obscure the existence of this fundamental need. It has often occurred in history, that the higher communication forms arose out of the quantity of medium communications, but, if Western society is seen as a whole, it would seem that the more complex communication-forms have become submerged in the masses of medium ones, perhaps due to a lack of interest on the part of the elite-group.

This would mean that the pace of modern society prevents the emergence of the more complex communication-forms. This would lead to a law of Gresham, in regard to communication, viz. that the lower and medium forms of communication drive out the higher ones. If this phenomenon is due to a high rate of technological change, it would be difficult to suggest remedies. These innovations seem to be an innate part of mass-societies. If the lack of the higher communication-forms is felt in large circles, some changes might set in, but much will have to depend on the attitude of the elite-groups. If they should make tradition again a part of their life-pattern, this attitude would gradually penetrate other levels of modern society. To suggest a renewal of classical education would probably be out of step with modern times though it must be observed that - in retrospect - classical education had many advantages. It took the younger generation out of their own world, in which they had to spend the rest of their lives, into a world of erudition that also possessed

color, character and imagination.

At present, our beliefs include the assumption that the higher functions of modern society are so "difficult" that years of training in the same subject are necessary to master each task. Nobody has explained exactly what these difficulties consists of. As a result, prolonged studies have led to predominantly oral behavior-patterns, which would not suffer a loss in intrinsic value if they would be simplified. The complexity might be caused partly by the fact that the social sciences operate on the medium-levels of communication, which are influenced by the exact sciences and by technological verbiage. How Man behaves towards Man is, however, an ethical problem rather than a scientific one, unless one assumes that it is necessary for all individuals to acquaint themselves with all possible behavior-forms. This would postpone the choice as an ethical problem, but it would not replace or obliterate it. A lack of moral values is simply a lack of sincerity: an avoidance of facing choices in their most fundamental aspects and substituting secondary ones.

If such behavior-forms should become dominant, the cohesion of modern society would become seriously threatened, and cohesion means vertical rather than horizontal social communication. There has undoubtedly been a strong increase in horizontal communication, but this has obscured the issue of vertical communication. In addition, much has been said about the quantitative increase in communication but analyses of its power of penetration and of its "depth-effort" are most disappointing.

This may be due to the overly simple image of Man with which modern society operates and which was inherited from the rationalism of the 19th century. This approach assumes that the basis of human society lies in the need-structure of the individual, but this need-structure is interpreted in a simplistic manner. The direct biological needs are given overwhelming attention, but the more complex intellectual, aesthetic, artistic, emotional and spiritual ones are largely ignored, even

though they may be of far greater importance to the continuity of our society.

Increasing differentiation must mean not only horizontal but predominantly vertical differentiation, and this holds true for our mental attitudes. A tentative approach to this problem has been attempted in the use of Scheler's distinction of salvation-, culture- and achievement-knowledge. Salvation-knowledge should perhaps be seen as an expression of Man's long term interests and of the need for expression of his basic anxiety and uncertainty about the future. This psychic need has not vanished and cannot disappear. There is no advantage in obscuring it by the excessive pace of modern society, which operates as a stupefiant. Our spirit is there, and it will reassert itself.

Culture-knowledge is the expression of a well-developed personality and of a mind that is convinced of its own uniqueness. Its value to the individual lies in this uniqueness. Also this is a basic and eternal human need. Man can never gain happiness from being merely a cog in a wheel, and his mind is not attuned to this task only. In a differentiated society, no single function can fully meet the desire for a self-expression of the individual; and it is essential that he should overcome this dilemma by supplementary activities. Furthermore, the ratio between active and passive participation must be found by the individual. To be only a consumer is as unrewarding as to be only a producer. Man has to be both, and in this alternating rhythm, there is also great need for non-activity and non-participation.

Excessive communication on the same level is not constructive, but merely wearing. Even fully differentiated communication, however, has its limits, and the human mind also needs a realm reserved for dreams and meditation. It needs its own ultimate private realm that shuns communication. That is essential to the individual because the life-experience of everybody has a non-communicable part. It also has a rhythm and a speed of its own that can never be fully adjusted to the

requirements of "the others."

Culture-knowledge means the recognition of the communicable part of the individual's private realm. It aids him to set this realm off, to indicate and hint at it, rather than insist on it. It is the expression of the individuality of the intellectually developed.

Little needs to be said about achievement-knowledge. Its importance, its increasing differentiation, and its increasing horizontal and vertical spreading are generally recognised, and the practical implementation of those goals is constantly being studied and investigated. It has been pointed out that there are structural limitations to this process of the spread of knowledge, and that realisable concrete goals may be preferable to vast general schemes which are too far ahead of existing need-patterns. Imitation is one of the most important social forces, and there is no doubt that technology and its concomitant knowledge-patterns will show the forms of spreading which correspond to the actual capabilities of social groups. Much of value will also be lost in this process. If development is not too hasty, it can be hoped that existing culture-patterns may undergo an evolutionary development instead of becoming disorganised. Social growth from within is the only form which can preserve cultural continuity.

If culture-patterns are seen as of the greatest importance for social continuity, cultural differentiation has priority over economic progress. Again this is a matter which depends on the philosophy of the world-elites, and little can be done on the medium levels unless there is some clarity about the relation between culture and knowledge. They are supplementary realms, and if culture is made subservient to the economy, it will lose its innate characteristics and the psychic vacuum which threatens modern society will spread over larger areas.

The reader may well begin to ask - perhaps somewhat impatiently - what is the bearing of these observations on the problems of libraries.

Sociological analysis can take place in either two forms: it can describe existing social patterns and analyse trends on the basis of this reality. If this is done strictly empirically the quantitatively dominant factors become the basis of trend-analysis. Sociological analysis, however, can also include a certain evaluation, a philosophy which is behind the work of analysis.

This second approach has been chosen even though the author is well aware that the adherents of the first method are critical of the second one. But it is a difference in degree rather than an absolute one: the more philosophic approach tries to take into account the long-term aspects, the intangibles which, if omitted, threaten to make the image as unconvincing at second sight as it is convincing at first acquaintance. If an analysis occupies itself with aspects of Man's mental life, it is better to face the charge of being speculative than to limit oneself to facts and figures. They do not tell the real tale, and it is this tale which could be interesting to the reader. At least the author is permitted to hope so, although this places him perhaps among the writers of the 17th or 18th century rather than among his more rigid contemporaries.

A distinction of various types of writing places a different perspective on the function of libraries. The library, like all modern social institutions, has to face the problems of differentiation in function, of quantitative increase, of a differentiation in demands, of accessibility, of horizontal and vertical spreading of its materials and of the depth-effect of these materials. A number of these problems are being widely investigated; a number do not receive the attention they deserve.

The predominant function of libraries is in regard to achievement, compensatory and informational reading. They account for quantitative increase, accessibility, servicing of materials, bibliographical work, abstracting, etc. These activities are concerned with the problem of bringing the needed amount of knowledge in the most efficient manner to the person who requires it. This function makes the library a social institution which oper-

ates predominantly in the medium mass-levels of our society. It is essential in creating the knowledge patterns and images which our society needs and by which it lives. It is attuned to the present, more than to the past or the future.

The library can concern itself much less with the problem of the absorption of its materials and with their depth-effect. As reading is a generic habit, it can try to stimulate reading in a general way, and, in this respect, it has to operate in terms of the general reader and of his presumed mental structure.

It has been argued that our thinking about this mental structure might be too onesided and that reading has been seen too much in its relation to social change and not enough in its impact on personality development or on the social status of the individual. Reading may improve a person's mind, but it is at least of equal value that it develops his personality. These two do not coincide.

The part of Man's mentality which society activates is limited by the pattern of the society. A social group may stress spiritual values, culture-knowledge, achievement-knowledge, etc. but it will rarely do this in the proportion which is most conducive to the mental well-being of the individual. The individual himself has to find ways and means to reach a mental-equilibrium, and, in doing this, he indirectly benefits the society of which he is a member. Personality development is the basis of constructive social development, and in this way it has priority over the latter.

This means that the differentiation which takes place in a complex society ultimately leads back to the individual. The social differentiation is partially a re-assertion of the individual and his psychic structure.

Thus, the answer to the question "Reading for what?" becomes simpler because it leads us back to the need-structure of the individual. If we see the mental attitude of the individual as the resultant of the en-

counter between his personality-structure and the challenge of the socio-natural environment, the uniqueness of this attitude comes to the fore. We think in generalities because the complexity of life forces us into this and because the pressures of society are couched in general terms. In reality, life is a process between humans, and the more we translate our generalities back into human terms, the closer we are to a solution.

The function of the library is not the spreading of knowledge, but the development of human personality. If we look at the library in this light, it seems that all essential facets are available: the private library, the loan library, the national library, the church library, the university library, the school library, the state library, the municipal library, the research library, the company library, the government library, the international library, the vernacular library, etc., etc. What else does the individual need for his development?

We could answer "Only time," and perhaps this answer would not be too far from the truth. Reading, to be enjoyed, requires time and the ability to re-think the thought-processes of others. Reading does not mean "to be told something by some one who knows it better." This is only a small segment of its function and certainly not the most important one.

Reading means to absorb what is essential to one's mental structure, and this process has no general rules of speed or capability.

Perhaps the library should not differentiate only in regard to quantity, categories of readers, etc. Perhaps it should also pay attention to different categories of reading. It might set aside a room for "Devotional books" where peace and quiet prevails and the obsession of quantity is absent or where might be "Literary libraries" where only the books of lasting value can be found.

The "depth-effect" of reading is a problem that needs study and analysis and about which little can be said at the present time.

And each individual should have a library of the books he really likes whether this be one or several thousand. Only a few books can become a part of our inner selves, and these are the books that are important to us.

In everything that has to do with books and reading, one observation stands out above all others: It is the uniqueness of the individual mind which furnishes the motive for writing as well as reading.

Notes

- 1 Why don't businessmen read books? Fortune, May, 1954.

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